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# —THE WORLD—

## —IN BOOKS—

A PEOPLE are at war among themselves in Spain. But long before the sewers of Madrid became filled and choked with the blood of neighbors, two Spanish farmers, according to legend, fought and killed each other in a quarrel over a melon. It would seem, as the prophethess of the "Edda" sang:

*Wind time, wolf time,  
—ere the world will pass,  
No man on earth  
—his fellow-man will spare.*

And that which is happening in Spain is threatening in France. Over the entire world, in fact, says Jan Huizinga in his *In the Shadow of Tomorrow*, (W. W. Norton, \$2.50), there hover "complications whose solution can hardly be evaded any longer." Today, the "complications" may consist of revolution, as in Spain. Tomorrow, the flames of conflict may spread among nations, fanned by impossible boundary demands, intolerable economic conditions, and impatient national minorities. The world, says Professor Huizinga, remains helplessly threatened by the madness of a devastating war, bringing new and greater degeneration in its wake.

Professor Huizinga, historian-philosopher of Leyden University, contends that the entire fabric of present-day civilization is decaying. Examining the causes and extent of this slow crumbling of our modern societies, he finds that "economic dislocation is only one aspect of a transformation of much wider import." Other aspects would include the battered jetties of twentieth century culture, the deterioration of moral standards, the "disavowal of the intellectual principle," and the misuse and even "barbarization" of science.

Yet Professor Huizinga decries pessimism. Even though he sees all about him a "demented world"—a world stooped under the weight of its severest crises in centuries—he is not quite willing to admit that civilization cannot reach down, pull itself up by the bootstraps, and "go forward."

"A general going back is out of the question," he writes. "There is nothing but to go forward even if we stand appalled at the unknown depths and distances ahead, even if the near future faces us as a yawning abyss shrouded in dark impenetrable vapors."

Forward? But where? And how?

Internationalism should be one of the first objectives, Professor Huizinga believes. Present-day nationalisms, with the attendant arm-stretching, shirt uniformity, goosestepping, regimented thinking, and legislated pride, do not make for the betterment, or even maintenance of civilization. The author does not advocate, however, a wholesale demolition of all individual nationalisms, but urges that present impure nationalisms be transformed into "purified" internationalism. Nationalities may be preserved, but only when the spirit of internationalism has been brought into play to such an extent that nations with different flags and different salutes can tolerate each other and not make conflicts out of contrasts.

Such is the vision of the new civilization, if, and when, it is brought about, as seen by Professor Huizinga. And it is to the younger generation that the author looks to "rule the world as it would be ruled, to save it from perishing of pride and folly, to permeate it again with the spirit."

*In the Shadow of Tomorrow* can hardly be called popular reading. There is that about it, however, to commend it highly to any shelf containing the *Social Contract* or Spengler's *Decline of the West*.

### Lussu's "Road to Exile"

Professor Huizinga's work has already appeared in Europe and has evoked wide and favorable comment. In this respect, it is similar to Emilio Lussu's *Road to Exile: The Story of a Sardinian Patriot* (Covici-Friede, \$2.50), which has stirred the Continent more than any other recent work on the early days of Italian Fascism.

# What Would You Like To Trade for a Useless River?



**T**AKE THE PLATTE—meandering out of Colorado and Wyoming into the Missouri down near Omaha. "The most useless of rivers!" That's what Washington Irving called the Platte when he took a "Wild West" tour a century ago. One look at this river seeping through the Nebraska buffalo grass was enough for this Hudson River aristocrat! "An air of sterility prevailed over these savage wastes" which he was certain must be forever "unfit for cultivation!"

The good-for-nothing Platte made the pioneers so mad, they made political speeches against it! In the Kansas constitutional convention, the Platte was condemned for three reasons: it couldn't be forded because of the quicksand; it couldn't be bridged because nothing would support piers; it couldn't be ferried for want of water—just an upside down river!

America condemned the Platte—until somebody thought of damming it! Today a vast system of dams, canals and reservoirs impounds the upper waters of the Platte, and

these rich waters have transformed the sun-burnt slabs of a thousand prairies into some of the most beautiful farming land in America.

The sugar beet is the best, the most profitable major crop that can be grown on most of these great upland reclamation projects. Corn doesn't do so well (cornbelt farmers can be glad of that) and other export crops like cotton don't grow at all. In the Platte Valley alone are twenty-one sugar factories producing annually almost a billion pounds of sugar—"crystallized sunshine and water."

And what has happened to the Platte is true of other projects—Minidoka, Bitter Root, Huntley, Milk River, Sun River, Riverton, Shoshone, Strawberry Valley, and many, many more.

You folks in eastern cities can thank the sugar beet in "the land of useless rivers" for the fact that today 100,000 sugar farmers are not knocking on your door for industrial jobs . . . and are not aggravating farm problems in the grain belt . . . or the corn belt . . . or the cotton belt!



*One of a series of advertisements to promote the sale of beet sugar and to remind America of the resourcefulness, efficiency and necessity of the beet sugar industry.*



*"The Silver Wedge," a booklet describing the beet sugar industry, has recently been published. A limited number of copies are available for distribution on request.*

## UNITED STATES BEET SUGAR ASSOCIATION

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Signor Lussu was a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies as a representative of Sardinia when Mussolini, then a struggling newspaper man, first became obsessed with the idea of tremendous political power and planned his March on Rome. From the start, Lussu spoke out against Fascism. He was one of the few who saw through Mussolini's Fascist formula, now being used on these shores, of appealing to the people with extravagant promises of "social justice" and "security." The parade of the Fascists grew longer and stronger. One by one the advocates of liberalism and constitutional monarchism sold out.

Yet the early days of Fascism were rough sailing indeed for the death-dealers of Il Duce. Mussolini allowed himself and his followers to drink too freely of power and

the people rose in protest. The protest gained in temper and in volume when Giacomo Matteotti, anti-Fascist deputy, was seized by the shirted clan and put to death.

It was no secret that Mussolini's butcher battalions had been working overtime and had wantonly murdered many citizens at the drop of a hat. There was the time, for instance, when Amerigo Dumini, in charge of one of the cutthroat squads, slapped a young girl in the face for wearing a red carnation, regarded as a badge of socialism. When her mother and brother remonstrated, Dumini sneered and shot them both on the spot.

Such incidents were not taken lightly by the people, especially when one of the victims happened to be Matteotti, a popular leader. Opposition against Fascism and its

### *Books Reviewed in This Issue*

#### GENERAL

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
<i>In the Shadow of Tomorrow</i>	Jan Huizinga	W. W. Norton	\$2.50
<i>Road to Exile</i>	Emilio Lussu	Covici-Friede	\$2.50
<i>Whither France</i>	Leon Trotsky	Pioneer	\$1
<i>Eyes on Japan</i>	Victor A. Yakhontoff	Coward-McCann	\$3.50
<i>Under the Swastika</i>	John B. Holt	Univ of North Carolina	\$2.50
<i>From the South Seas to Hitler</i>	Ivy Carl	Dutton	\$3
<i>Bali and Angkor</i>	Geoffrey Gorer	Little, Brown	\$3
<i>An American Doctor's Odyssey</i>	Dr. Victor Heiser	W. W. Norton	\$3.50
<i>Storm Over the Constitution</i>	Irving Brant	Bobbs-Merrill	\$2
<i>The Social History of Agriculture</i>	Joseph Schafer	Macmillan	\$2.50
<i>Why Quit Our Own</i>	George N. Peek Samuel Crowther	D. Van Nostrand	\$ .50
<i>Herod</i>	Jacob S. Minkin	Macmillan	\$2.50
<i>The Flowering of New England</i>	Van Wyck Brooks	Dutton	\$4

#### FICTION

<i>Drums Along the Mohawk</i>	Walter D. Edmonds	Little, Brown	\$2.50
<i>The Big Money</i>	John Dos Passos	Harcourt, Brace	\$2.50



quick-trigger toughs gained in volume and Fascist leaders began to resign from the Cabinet. Even Mussolini stepped down a peg or two. But by this time the people would be satisfied with nothing less a thorough housecleaning. His back to the wall, Mussolini tried one last scheme—and succeeded. He stood before the Chamber and Italian nation and said, in effect: "Yes, I assume responsibility for all that has occurred. Who wants to do anything about it?"

This had the psychological effect of breaking the back of the opposition. There were many who wanted "to do something about it," but there were few who were foolhardy enough to accept what appeared to be a certain invitation to their own murder. As a last desperate measure, however, a group of anti-Fascists made a personal appeal before the King. Constitutional liberties, for which Italians had bled and suffered for centuries, had been openly flouted and destroyed. Italy had become a highway of injustice and even murder. The people were appealing to him, the King of Italy, for restoration of their rights. Would he heed?

The King listened attentively. He looked abstractedly out of the window. For a few moments nobody spoke. Then:

"My daughter shot two quail this morning," he said.

The delegates were dumbfounded. Clearly, the King chose not to "do anything about it." Again silence. Finally, one of the delegates, his voice rocked with emotion said:

"I am very fond of quail—they are good eating, fried, with new peas. . . ."

That was the end of the opposition movement. With the virtual blessings of the King, the Fascist ship of state turned full speed ahead. Il Duce sowed and reaped a crop of Cabinet positions and gorged himself with power. There was room in Italy for one party only—Fascist. Beware, dissenters!

And Signor Lussu, as one of the dissenters, found that even a great many of his native Sardinians had yielded to the black-shirts and had demanded that he, too, capitulate. An expedition of local Fascists set out with the openly avowed purpose of murdering him. In this they failed, but the slick Fascist machinery managed to exile Lussu as a political prisoner to the island of Lipari.

Lussu's sensational escape in 1929 is well known.

With two other political prisoners, he braved the choppy waters around Lipari and swam far out to sea, there to be picked up by a friendly craft.

• *The Road to Exile* is as outstanding a contribution to the story of the early days of fascism as is the recent *Under the Axe of Fascism*, by Gaetano Salemini, another exile, to our knowledge of conditions in present-day Italy. Mr. Lussu's work may be read with considerable profit.

### Trotsky's "Whither France"

Still another exile—perhaps the most famous exile of them all—writes this month against the dangers of fascism. It is Leon Trotsky, and in *Whither France* (Pioneer, \$1) he warns that France, too, must choose. Turn, hedge, and sulk as the Frenchman will, he cannot avoid coming face to face with the hard reality that the flame of democracy in France is flickering badly; soon it may be snuffed out completely. In its place will be rigged up fascism or the proletarian state.

And the choice is not far distant. Indications of the "first mighty wave of proletarian revolution" are seen by Mr. Trotsky in the recent May-June strikes. Meanwhile, he says, the counter-revolution bides its time behind the backs of Blum and Jouhaux.

"The mighty collision of classes is heading towards a climax," Mr. Trotsky writes. "Whoever vacillates, whoever loses time is a traitor. The choice lies between the greatest of all historical victories and the most ghastly of defeats."

Mr. Trotsky has no sympathies with, or for, the Blum Government. "Blum is duping his own party and he aims to dupe the proletariat," he says. And there is no way out on France's parliamentary road. Democracy, in whose name the Blum Government now functions, will be crushed into powder between the millstones of fascism and the proletariat revolution, the author contends.

### Eyes on Japan

It is doubtful that France consoles herself in the thought that other nations, too, are traveling a highway which ends abruptly and

points off to sharp Right and sharp Left. Nevertheless, Japan is among this growing number, says Victor A. Yakhontoff, former military attaché at the imperial Russian embassy at Tokyo, in *Eyes on Japan* (Coward-McCann, \$3.50). The Land of the Rising Sun is vacillating between outright fascism and "one form or another of socialism." Capitalism clings by a finger, and those who would salvage whatever remains of the old order are turning to a formula whose copy-right privileges will be graciously waived by Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler. It appears, the author believes, that the immediate choice will be in the fascist direction. But in the long run, he contends, Nippon will swerve off to the Left.

But whichever way Japan heads, she is not to be considered lightly. Mr. Yakhontoff, in a book which is easily the most comprehensive study of Japan to be published during the last ten years (one finds little to compare with it since the turn of the century outside of *The Things Japanese* by Basil Hall Chamberlain), does much to blast popular "under-estimations" of Nippon. Today, Japan governs a population larger than that of the United States, and has control of a territory larger than the present combined national areas of England, France, and Germany. With Manchukuo included, the Japanese Empire is stretched to an area more than five times as large as that of the home archipelago.

Yet war with the Western nations is not as inevitable as "military experts" are inclined to predict. If Japan is spoiling for a fight, it may very well be that she need look no farther than China. The recent vigorous anti-Japanese demonstrations in China and the success of the Chinese Red Armies would seem to indicate, Mr. Yakhontoff asserts, a "coming struggle that may put an end, not only to Japanese, but to every other brand of imperialism in China." And the lot of the professional war-maker in Japan is made even more difficult by the annoying increase of those citizens who persist in seeing no good in war. More than that: Japan is economically unable to stand the strain of prolonged conflict.

Meanwhile, the forces of Right and Left continue to separate still further. And while, the crisis nears in Japan it appears, at least from *Under the Swastika*, by John B. Holt, (University of North Carolina, \$2.50), that Nazi-ism is strongly entrenched in Germany, and the show-down with communism is far off. Mr. Holt, confining himself to an objective study of economic conditions in Germany, says that Herr Hitler's empire is experiencing something approximating a domestic boom. Unemployment has been reduced by half, he finds, and the national income has increased ten percent since 1934. Germans are even drinking more beer than they did before Der Fuehrer transformed Germany into a country of hand-raisers and goosesteppers.

Mr. Holt finds that business is almost forty points better than it was in 1932, but observes very significantly that the situation cannot always be summed up in terms of digits and numerical tables. For one thing, Germany's foreign trade has fallen off sharply. Formerly, two to three million German workers were engaged in processing raw materials sent into the country. Then the "workshop of the world," Germany's foreign trade position has since suffered heavily. For the time being, the processing workers have been absorbed in the munitions works, now operating night and day. But soon even Germany must have her fill of cannon. A country can stuff itself with guns to the point where there will be more bayonets than trees. And Germany is rapidly reaching such a point. When it does, there will be wide unemployment again—a condition which can only be alleviated, in the opinion of Mr. Holt, through a long-range program of land settlement.

Meanwhile, German business is improving and Government finances appear sound. But underneath everything, says Mr. Holt, is the supreme confidence of the people in Hitlerism. Were that to collapse, he adds, the Government would go with it. Mr. Holt's conclusion is that in order to forestall this collapse, the Government must continue providing the people with an opportunity of making a living, and maintaining the "idealism of national socialism."

### *The German "Idealism"*

Whether the people actually believe in this "idealism" is questioned by Ivy Carl in *From the South Seas to Hitler*, (Dutton,

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\$3). Miss Carl attended secondary school in Munich when Hitler and Nazi-ism were woven into the national pattern in 1933. Students and teachers learned all about Nazi-ism—about regimentation, marching, patriotism, and the correct pronunciation of "Heil Hitler!" It was because of Miss Carl's answer on a "patriotism" questionnaire that her scholastic rating was found "objectionable."

A reign of terror existed among the students. Brown shirts and *agents provocateurs* were planted in the classrooms and even lack of enthusiasm for Der Fuehrer was sufficient grounds for harsh punitive measures. Thus it was that mechanical springs grew into shoulders that shot into the air with accompanying manifestations of "Heils!" But it is hard to say that this constitutes "idealism." "The people," writes Miss Carl, "have more fear than respect for the German Government." It is far wiser to goosestep and keep one's heart pure than protest and be whisked away to a concentration camp.

*From the South Seas to Hitler* is an amazing autobiography of the daughter of a German spy who was active in service during the war. When the spy was condemned to death, the girl became a "globetrotter" at the age of eighteen months. She was taken to Nuifuti in the South Sea Islands and spent her early childhood almost as one of the natives. Later, she visited Honolulu, Osaga, Yokohama, Buenos Aires, Malaga, Tangier, and numerous other places. Her story, written with a gifted and highly promising pen, is a welcome change from the hardened and sophisticated memoirs of those correspondents, who, as Miss Carl says, "have collected their experiences at five o'clock tea with Goebbels or Hitler."

"What I have told here I have lived and suffered with the German people," she writes.

### ***Bali and Angkor***

Miss Carl's description of the island of Nuifuti may very well precipitate a travel boom to the South Sea islands. And if it does not, Geoffrey Gorer's *Bali and Angkor* (Little, Brown, \$3), will start the tourist rush in the direction of those islands.

Present-day civilization, conditioned as it is to limited thinking and mechanical domination, all too often falls into the error of measuring or evaluating art and culture in

(Continued on page 126)

## **H. WICKHAM STEED**

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# Current HISTORY

SEPTEMBER 1936

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## LOG of MAJOR CURRENTS

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### AT HOME:

AS USUAL, mid-summer found the American people concentrating on sport, pleasure, and vacations. If hotel registries, week-end excursions, and transportation figures are to be relied upon, we have made substantial progress toward recovery. Summer resorts were crowded, highways were congested, and more people appear to have had money available for outings than for several years. Even more significant were trade, banking, and corporation reports.

The normal summer slackening in business was not in evidence, the Department of Commerce announced in its regular monthly survey for July, made public August 9. The survey found the steel industry "unusually active"; it found electrical equipment and building supply industries, in particular, extending the gains of previous months; it found "substantial progress" in the durable-goods industries; and while automobile production declined slightly during July, the report pointed out that "the active market for both passenger and commercial cars has held production at a high level, consideration being given to the lateness of the season." Manufacture of at least two million cars and trucks during the last half

of the year was indicated, the department said, by reports from the Automobile Manufacturers Association, compared with 1,729,000 units during the second half of 1935.

The survey showed that "the major current indicators of consumer income—payrolls and cash farm income—recorded further gains in June, and these have augmented by the unusual increase in disbursements of Government funds as a result of the cashing of the 'bonus' bonds distributed in June."

The principal development in consumer-goods industries was cotton textiles, where "rapidly mounting sales have served to prevent the usual summer slackening in production." Rayon output held up to near capacity levels, but the output of silk goods was reported still low.

### *Unfavorable Trade Balance*

The American people bought more than they sold in June. While the export trade for June increased about \$15,000,000 over that of June one year ago, imports increased by more than \$34,000,000. For the first six months of 1935, we had a balance in our favor of nearly \$30,000,000. For the first six months of 1936, the balance against us was about \$9,000,000.

According to the Department of

Commerce, our export trade to 33 of 51 countries decreased in June compared with the preceding month. As might be expected, Spain was one of them. Canada continued to be our best customer, though her purchases also decreased somewhat over those of the preceding month. The value of exports and imports in June 1936 and June 1935, according to grand divisions, was announced by the Department of Commerce as follows:

EXPORTS		
(In thousands of dollars)		
Grand Division and Country	June, 1935	June, 1936
Europe .....	69,380	69,400
Northern North America .	28,089	35,498
Southern North America .	17,342	16,789
South America .....	14,046	15,828
Asia .....	26,804	31,010
Oceania .....	6,655	7,756
Africa .....	7,927	8,628
Totals .....	170,244	184,908
IMPORTS		
Europe .....	42,568	53,543
Northern North America .	23,894	29,917
Southern North America .	19,040	24,214
South America .....	21,583	20,052
Asia .....	44,366	56,952
Oceania .....	1,937	3,284
Africa .....	3,365	2,425
Totals .....	156,754	190,387

Many economists seek the paramount cause that precipitated America from the topmost rung of creditor nations to that of a small debtor. Many causes are given, among them protective tariffs, increased ingenuity on the part of the purchaser nations (witness Japan), curtailed crop production, and the drought.

None doubts that among the immediate factors curtailing our agricultural exports the drought is the most important. It is too early to estimate the total damage; but it is hinted that approximately half the corn crop has been destroyed, while the wheat crop, although not decimated to that extent, is nevertheless severely injured. This condition, coupled with the fact that the

United States is exporting little grain while importing considerable, completes a pessimistic picture.

Politicians, of course, take note of the damage and interpret the disaster in two ways. One school of thought perceives the drought as demonstrating the necessity for economic planning and crop control. Another school holds the opposite view, and points out that the drought has demonstrated the impracticability of crop control. The first group challenges this accusation by saying that once complete planning is put into effect, the surplus of the abundant years will be more than sufficient to compensate for drought or any other capricious act of God. The other group responds just as vehemently that any type of planning must inevitably exaggerate the scarcity of lean years; that the recent administration policy of paying farmers to raise less has been wholly disastrous. Perhaps the truth lies somewhere between these two extremes. One thing, at least, is certain: the abundance of the fat years must assuredly be stored against the time of leanness.

### *Fire Threatens the West*

As the drought continued grimly into its third month, it forced upon the attention of the nation another serious problem concerning the conservation of natural resources. With the forest region as dry as tinder, vast and valuable timber resources were at the mercy of such Lilliputian items as the carelessly dropped match of a picnicker, the neglected ember of a hunter's campfire, or even the presence of an otherwise insignificant piece of broken grass.

Forest fires raged in seven States, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin suffering the most severely. In Minnesota, it was estimated that 50,000 acres had been burned over; at a minimum, 55 families were said to have lost their

homes and possessions and hundreds of others had been forced to flee from menaced dwellings. In the northern peninsula of Michigan, towns were threatened while a blaze destroyed 3,400 acres which included valuable second-growth timber. Traunik, a town with a population of 150, was temporarily saved by a change in the

wind, but the lumber settlement of Melstrand was endangered. In Montana, the loss of 30,000 acres of timber was blamed upon incendiaries.

Forest rangers, CCC and PWA workers, and volunteers of all descriptions combined to fight the fires. Some 9,000 men were on the job battling three score fires in Minnesota; 2,000



AMERICAN OLYMPICS

—St. Louis Star-Times

were needed to check one outbreak in Wyoming. In the course of a few days, Minnesota ran up a bill of \$89,000, of which \$39,000 was borne by the Federal Government.

These isolated examples serve to give some idea of the extent of the problem. It is not yet known what the total will be when all the damage has been added. But it is certain that it will exceed the \$45,000,000 at which the national loss from fire was estimated in 1934.

### *Prevention or Cure?*

Heavy bills are being run up year after year in fighting fires; and, even, when they are put out, the forest resources of the nation are one more step towards depletion. Fire, with its disastrous after-effects, has been more destructive of timber reserves than all the frantic and ruthless cutting of young growth by the lumber industries. It has certainly been infinitely more injurious than the plow, against which so many are apt to inveigh. Nor is it only an economic problem of the conservation of resources; it is a social problem involving the uprooting of whole human communities.

The fire hazard definitely emerges as a permanent national problem. Forest fires are not merely a periodic visitation of Providence, which can be laughed off today because limitless new resources will be available tomorrow. There is an immediate social cost, and the wealth remaining for the morrow is no longer infinite. The oil industry can tell a story about that.

Two points emerge from the nation's recent experiences with this problem. The first is that, despite the heavy expenditures upon fire-fighting, rain has invariably proved to be the most effective check. But, if Nature has been the best agency in quenching the flames, there is the second point that human

carelessness has been primarily responsible for igniting them. That puts the problem in its proper perspective and shows that a cent spent on prevention equals several dollars' worth of cure.

Undersecretary Tugwell is perfectly correct in recognizing that the preservation of natural resources so that they can support those who develop them is a paramount issue in the States today. And, if the drought has brought a recognition of the fact that forest fires must and can be prevented, then it will have served at least one useful purpose.

### *The Labor Rift*

Those unfamiliar with the development of organized labor are surprised at the present conflict within its ranks. It is not, however, either a novel, or an unexpected, occurrence. Industrial unionism has been advocated by certain labor leaders for half a century. It would have made faster headway but for the opposition of skilled workers who were unwilling to surrender the superior position which their skill insured. The rapid expansion of mechanical power and mass production has had the same effect on craft unionism that it has had on crafts, eliminating or reducing the mass of skilled labor. The very same factors of industrial progress which have inspired business to include a multitude of operations in one plant have also given labor the idea of including a multitude of trades in one union.

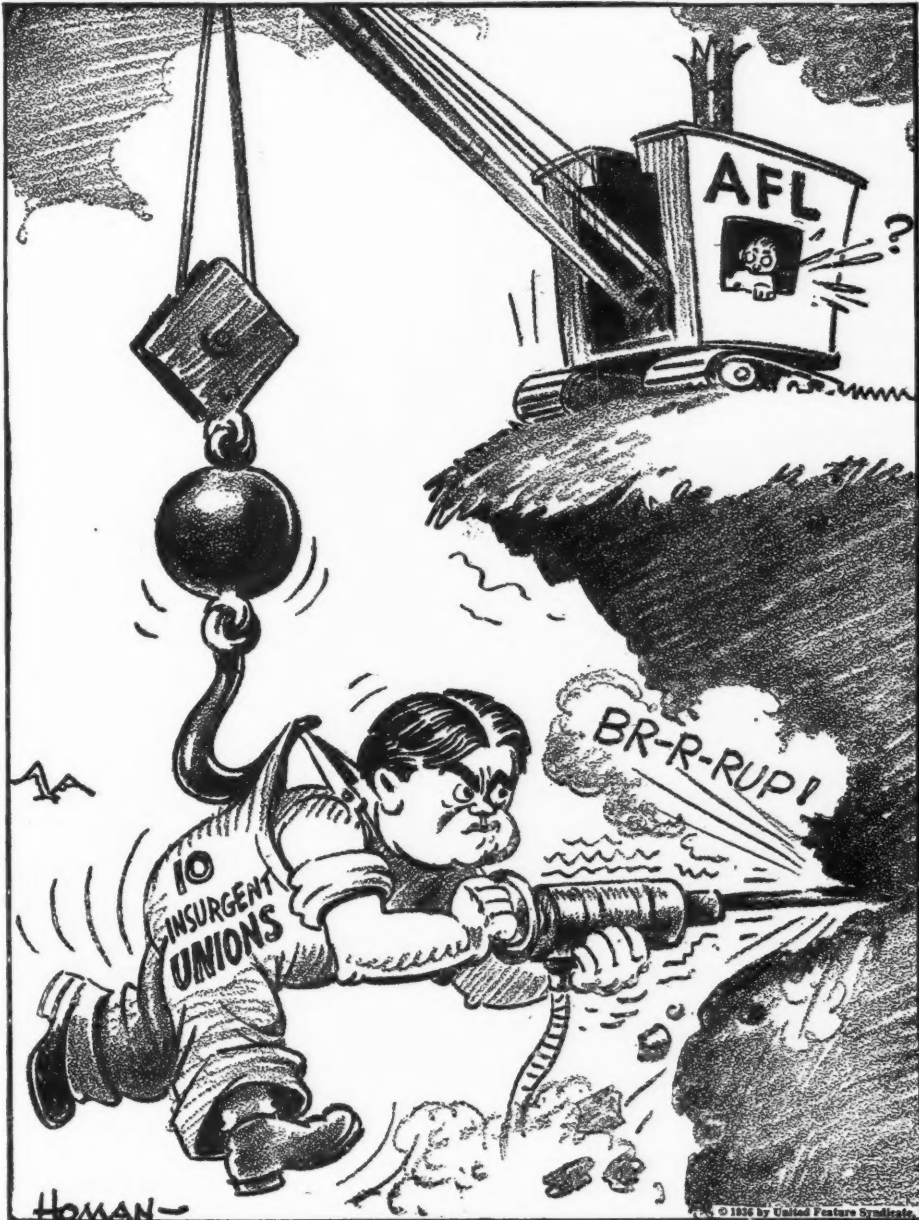
It goes without saying that craft unionism will probably never be eliminated, for the simple reason that crafts will never be eliminated. But the tendencies of modern industry are such as to strengthen the idea of industrial unionism. Neither is that idea opposed in principle by the American Federation of Labor. The present quarrel is over authority rather than



method, over leadership rather than principle.

Certain unions under the leadership of John L. Lewis have undertaken to organize large industries such as steel,

rubber, and automobile manufacturing. The A. F. of L. charges that they did this without authorization and contrary to its own program. Their answer is that the A. F. of L. program was not



SUSPENDED ANIMATION

—United Feature Service

being carried out, that something had to be done, and that they were willing to do it. Summoned before the executive council of the A. F. of L. as rebels, they refused to appear and were suspended. The issue thus raised will probably come up for decision at the next A. F. of L. Convention in November.

Meanwhile, this split—if such it can be called—is not so serious as some people appear to think. Some leaders may fall by the wayside, and some unions may lose prestige, but the underlying elements of our industrial situation are such that organized labor is bound to reunite or cooperate through both craft and industrial unions.

### *That Third Party*

Third parties are chronic in American politics. We have had them for a century and more — Barn-Burners, Anti-Masons, Know-Nothings, Greenbackers, Populists, Bull-Moosers, Non-Partisan Leaguers, etc., *ad infinitum*. The present third party, which Mr. Lemke brought into being by fiat decree, is less original, perhaps, and less coherent than most of its predecessors. It represents a curious compound of Inflationists, Townsendites, Share-the-Wealthers, and Coughlinites. It was born of dissent and it suffers from dissent. Most of its specific aims are spotty, and some of them conflicting. It lacks anything approaching a coherent philosophy. Its temporary character is illustrated by the simple fact that some of the groups composing it have declined to go further than endorsing Mr. Lemke as a Presidential candidate, while others are plagued by factions who refuse to go even that far.

The Townsendites have one want—\$200 a month. They are lining up with

the third party—some of them, at least—because they have made little headway with the other two and because their chief hope lies in creating a balance of power. The Share-the-Wealth contingent is governed by similar motives, but lacks the pulling power of any such simple rainbow as Dr. Townsend has painted. As for Father Coughlin's Union for Social Justice, it is too academic and idealistic for practical politics.

The net result of this strange coalition is problematic. It may mean the birth of a real political faction in years to come. Right now its significance lies in the number of votes it will be able to detract from either or both the old parties and the possible effect of those votes in determining which of the old parties wins.

### *The American System*

Confusion and discontent are playing a big part in the present campaign. As Dr. Boyd H. Bede of Ohio State University told the International Conference on New Education at Cheltenham, England, the other day, "A visitor to America cannot make much out of American politics, but he may get comfort from the thought that we can't, either." Like that traditional John Watkins who was kicked by a mule, and to whom Dr. Bede also referred, we Americans are badly upset. We have a vague idea of what happened, but not why, or what to do about it. Some of our first-aid measures have not turned out so well.

Public opinion in a democracy like ours is bound to be a weird combination. It includes impulses, passing moods, old-time concepts, entrenched beliefs and emotional complexes. It cannot be separated from tradition or inventiveness. It represents compromise as well as conflict between the

old and the new. It is swayed by propaganda and the weather, not to mention countless other externals. Once in a blue moon public opinion shifts some fundamental base, but as a general proposition, it is definitely limited and circumscribed by those deeper stereotypes which pass from one generation to another. What our fathers thought still influences what we think. Dreams of a better future mingle with precedents established long ago to guide the present.

There is such a thing as the "American system," which means that there is such a thing as an American philosophy of life, government, and society. This philosophy has come down to us through the ages; it finds definite expression in our political structure, our economic set-up, and our social institutions. Like all other philosophies, it rests on certain deep-seated convictions. We believe, for instance, in personal liberty, private enterprise, freedom of speech, conscience and action. But—and this is what complicates the situation—we fear and distrust power, no matter what its source, or how it expresses itself. This country was largely settled by those fleeing from power, by religious outcasts, poor debtors, indentured servants, and political refugees. Sympathy for the underdog was bred into our blood from the very beginning. Conversely, we have contracted the habit of viewing all upper dogs with suspicion or resentment, especially when they become too big and brutal. Our attitude toward power is fundamentally different from that of Europe. This is only natural. While most of the greater European nations have put their faith in conquest or colonization, we sprang from colonies. We have inherited the colonial reaction toward centralized authority and remote control. Our dominating complex is defensive. We have seldom

invoked power except to break power, and that is where the rub comes.

### *Power Through Freedom*

The very freedom which this government was meant to guarantee has uncovered new sources of power. Individual liberty has combined with private enterprise to produce some of the most gigantic industrial structures ever conceived. There are business concerns in this country which, though claiming all the immunities and privileges pertaining to personal liberty, command larger revenues, larger combines of capital, and larger forces of men than many a sovereign state. Such concerns represent power, none the less real because of its unofficial character. We have become afraid of them for that very reason. We distrust the control which they obviously exercise over credit, service, employment and commodities. At the moment, we are invoking political power to curb and restrain them. We are not invoking it, however, because we have suddenly fallen in love with it. The average American has not been converted to the superstate ideal. Those who think this country stands on the brink of fascism or communism would do well to keep that in mind. You can see the old anti-power complex working underneath all our emergency measures and temporary schemes if you look deep enough. You can see it in the return to anti-trust laws after it looked as though they were going to be discarded. You can see it in the absence of anger at the Supreme Court for outlawing certain phases of the New Deal after they had broken the jam which they were intended to break. You can see it in the steady growth of regulation and the equally steady refusal to substitute revolutionary ideas. The American people have always been willing to invoke one power to break another, but



ALL ABOARD FOR THE GREEN PASTURES

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

once that task was accomplished, they have refused to entrench the power invoked.

### *Dilemmas of Progress*

Scientific and mechanical progress constantly clashes with the fear of political and economic power in American life. The socialization of private achievement, with a minimum of of-

ficial interference or control, might well be described as our basic concept of progress. Without bigger and better private achievement, there would be little to socialize, so we encourage it by every possible means. We grant patents, protect royalties, and leave the road open for huge profits. With some notable exceptions, our attitude toward socialization, or exploitation, is



much the same. We tolerate the development of gigantic enterprises for the sake of creature comforts, just as we tolerate lawlessness for the sake of liberty. We dread to invoke such political power as would be necessary for complete regulation and a maximum of efficiency, lest it swallow us. We have invoked this power, however, if, as, and when conditions became too irksome, and we can do so again; but thus far our aim has been to gain temporary relief, rather than make a permanent change.

The prevailing attitude toward the electric industry furnishes a vivid example of our thought processes and the methods we are inclined to adopt when something has to be done. Until recently, we hesitated at nothing which would stimulate the production of electricity and the labor-saving devices going with it. We closed our eyes to stock-watering, paid exorbitant bills, put up with arrogance, excused manipulation, and glorified illegitimate profits. Now that the electric industry has been woven into our economic structure as a routine and essential part, now that its cost and revenue can be calculated with reasonable accuracy, we demand that it get down to earth, forego the privileges of a risky adventure, cut out the promoter or racketeering complex, and operate as a sound, quasi-public business should.

Just to clarify the idea, and not because we have gone superstate, the Federal Government is undertaking such projects as TVA and the Columbia River development. This does not mean that the Federal Government intends to take over the electric industry, but that it purposes to show that industry how things can, and should, be done.

### *Opportunism, Of Course*

Within certain broad limits, we Americans are opportunists, and most

of the limits were designed to promote opportunism. We don't admit this, but we rejoice in it. We cherish independence of action and the right to change our minds above everything else. We are born adventurers and experimenters, willing to try anything once, but for that very reason opposed to anything being made permanent.

The average American hates established control by anybody, anywhere, at any time. He will cooperate to gain independence, but it is independence, not cooperation, that appeals to him. He will act collectively to assert or to maintain his rights, but it is the right, not collectivism, that he seeks. He will yell for a New Deal in time of depression, and then yell just as loudly against it when he thinks recovery is assured.

Your average American is not sold on Old World ideas of discipline, regimentation, and the totalitarian state, except for temporary argument. He did not forsake Washington's advice when he entered the World War. He thought he could Americanize Europe, but found he could not. Europe thought this country had adopted the European viewpoint. Both made a serious mistake. In 1917, the majority of us regarded a League of Nations based on democratic principles as not only feasible, but essential, to make victory worth while. Three years later we were voting for "splendid isolation" and "back to normalcy." In 1920, we adopted the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Right now, we are back with the saloon, and the sale of liquor is permitted on a wider scale than at any time for fifty years. What can you make out of it all but opportunism?

The flexibility of our system of government, with its checks, balances, and limitations, is not favorable to any sweeping division as between rights and lefts, or even conservatives and

liberals. As a matter of fact, we are not agreed on what these terms imply. We prefer to be progressive or reactionary with regard to specific problems, rather than in a general sense. Sometimes we find it possible to advocate bureaucracy in the name of liberalism, or uphold personal liberty in the name of conservatism. We are not, and

never have been, opposed to socialistic ideals *per se*, but we would rather apply them in spots and in particular cases. We enjoy the privilege of swinging, first in one direction and then in another. It conforms to our training and tradition. Even our major parties reserve the right to change their attitudes. In this campaign, for instance,



ANTI-MONOPOLY

—NEA Service

the Republican Party appears to be championing the doctrine of State rights, local self-government, etc., while the Democratic Party appears more inclined to centralize authority. This would suggest something of a reversal in the attitude of both parties, but it is generally regarded as signifying little more than the by-product of practical politics. Emergencies incident to depression forced the Democratic Party to adopt measures of a centralizing character. The Republican Party was left little choice but to oppose them. The curious switch deceives and alarms very few.

Meanwhile, we have minorities which do not believe in the American system; which are for radical and fundamental changes; which assert the time has come to discard the principles on which this government was established. It is their right, and we ought to protect them in exercising it, because that, also, is a part of our system. If they had their way, however, it might not remain a part of our system, which is one reason why they do not make more progress. There is not, and never has been, any fixed opposition to radicalism in the United States, except as it aimed to destroy the system which permitted it to exist and express itself. From the beginning, Americans have reserved to themselves and to each other the right to be radical, to preach and proselyte, to advance novel ideas, and to propose queer schemes. That is part of the American system, but to accept radicalism as a fixed method of procedure is not.

### *A Routine Campaign*

A country's politics is ultimately guided by its traditions, its tribal law, its habit of thought, as they are slowly modified by the evolutionary influences of progress.

We Americans know that our sys-

tem is clumsy and inefficient, that it precludes the speed and precision which go with dictatorships, or highly organized states. We know that it is constantly leading us up blind alleys and getting us into jams. We know that it leaves room for a lot of wasted experimenting and unrealized dreams, and that more often than not it appears to take us back to the place from which we started. We know that it involves more or less confusion, that it is cumbersome, unwieldy, and expensive, and that it leaves the roadside strewn with wrecked adventures which seemed glorious at the time of their inception. But it's our system, and we still like it.

We are running true to form in the present campaign, notwithstanding all the prophesying and head-shaking. Three years ago, there was considerable talk about revolution, preventable only by compromising with the revolutionists, whoever they might be. There were some who said that even the compromising amounted to revolution, that we had gone "left." It was asserted by one bold forecaster that Franklin D. Roosevelt would be either our greatest, or our last, President. Quite frequently one hears the question asked, "Will the United States go Communist, or Fascist?" The answer is that the United States will go Democratic or Republican, just as it has for the last twenty elections.

## **ABROAD:**

**I**N *The Story of Prophecy in the Life of Mankind*, Henry James Forman records that there is a remarkable degree of agreement among pyramidologists, crystal-gazers, and honest-to-goodness prophets that the year of grace 1936 is going to prove portentous for the world. The year, they assert, is going to witness a sort of

general clean-up, in which the forces of light are going to triumph over the "cohorts of darkness." Some are specific enough to mention September 15-16 as the date.

But up to the middle of August, the forces of darkness still appeared about three laps in the lead. To the lay observer, it looked as though any prophet with a decent respect for his reputation might find it wise to start hedging his position. The main reason for this skepticism was the bloody struggle in Spain—a threat to peace none the less serious because it came from an unexpected quarter.

The nature of this menace has been very concisely stated by P. J. Philip, writing in the *New York Times*: "Perhaps the Spanish people themselves imagine that they are fighting a private war. If so, they are very much mistaken. They are fighting locally a party quarrel which is dividing the whole Continent, and it is all the more tragic because, whichever side wins, liberty and decency and respect for human life are going to lose."

### *Progress of the Revolt*

The general strategy of the rebels directed that the southern forces under General Franco and the northern army under General Mola should rapidly and simultaneously converge on Madrid. The signals for action were the murders of a lieutenant of the shock police and of a Monarchist deputy (a rising Fascist leader), attributed respectively to Fascists and the State police. The rebellion first broke out in Morocco, whence troops were transported across the straits to Algeciras, there to begin the southern march on Madrid.

It was soon apparent, however, that the Fascist plan of a sudden *coup* had

failed. It became equally clear that before either side could claim a victory there would be a long period of hostilities, which would inevitably inflict upon Spain a tremendous loss of life and property.

Although Madrid and Barcelona remained loyal, it was estimated that about half the country was in the hands of the rebels after three weeks of warfare, the insurgents being more successful in the north than in the south. It will be a long job to uproot them, particularly since they have access to rich agricultural regions and since they have been making strong efforts to obtain seaports.

Discounting, for the moment, the possibilities of outside help, the rebels can count as assets the major part of the Army and the resources of the rich landed and industrial classes.

The Government has the Civil Guard on its side; in fact, the unexpected loyalty of that body was primarily responsible for thwarting a sudden rebel *coup*. It also has the support of the Navy, which will help prevent Fascists from crossing over from Morocco. And the preponderant loyalty of the air force should prove of substantial advantage in a mountainous country such as Spain.

Mid-August, however, saw the struggle continuing in all its gory virulence, with neither side exempted from its quota of "atrocities", and both laying claims to early victory. It may be suggested that, so far as the outside world is concerned, the winners of a modern war are those who can first reach a radio microphone.

### *Behind the Revolt*

Since the banishment of Alfonso and the establishment of the Republic in 1931, there have been five major re-





## HITLER'S PIE

Dictator Hitler to Democrat Blum: "Now then, don't stick your fingers in other people's business."

—News Chronicle, London

volts in Spain, three from the Left and two from the Right. Each has been more intense than its predecessor, and each has been the result of a fundamental cleavage in economic interests, a problem which has been intensified by the depression and which democratic politics have not been able to solve. The present upheaval is categorically the same as its predecessors. It is also the most significant.

In essence, this has been the situation since the elections last February: The Left Republican Government has represented a middle class point of view in a nation in which there is no middle class. It could thank for its election the support of the left wing elements of the

Popular Front, which were allied to it on the negative and tenuous basis of its anti-clericalism, anti-monarchism, and anti-fascism. But it offered no positive economic program with which to pay its election debts to the masses.

When Premier, Azaña was able to hold together the diverse elements of the Popular Front. After he assumed the Presidency, however, the inevitable rifts between Center and Left deepened. Peasants demanded a resolute attack upon the evils of absentee landlordism and a division of the large estates. Workers demanded nationalization or control of the industrial monopolies, many of which were so linked with the Government that stockholders



received the profits, while the State met the losses.

Collaterally, the Socialists and Socialist trade unions of the General Union of Labor split. The milder faction, under Prieto, continued to support the Government; more went into the direct action group built up by Caballero, to the left of the Communists. The number of Communists increased phenomenally, the official group supporting the Popular Front Government, the stronger Trotskyite elements spurning it. The Anarcho-Syndicalists of the National Confederation of Labor refused to cooperate with anyone.

Strikes followed the growing demand for radical economic action. By its beliefs, the Government could not suppress these strikes; likewise, it could not appease the workers' demands.

Thus, with strikes deepening economic distress, with the Left Wing split, and with the ineffectiveness of the Cortes stressed by the tactics of the Right, the time was ripe for the Fascist revolt, planned by disloyal Army officers who had been exiled to outlying posts.

### *Significance for Spain*

There has been a fantastic procession of political parties in Spain: Royalists, Fascists, Nationalists, Separatists, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, Anarchists. Today, everyone calls himself either a Fascist or a Marxist. On the one hand, the Army, the bureaucrats, the industrialists, the clericals, the large landowners, and the monarchists look back romantically to the "good old days." On the other, the peasants, the workers, and the small business men look forward to a future which glows a rosy red.

The two parties are mutually exclusive; there is no conception of compromise. The national interest is seen only as the interests of one of these groups.

The lingering hopes of liberalism were the first casualties at the barricades in Madrid.

Whichever side wins, an immediate dictatorship is inevitable—whether or not it be cloaked by the outward forms of republican government. The Government has already learned, to its cost, the result of showing lenience to disloyal Army officers. And, if successful, the rebels are not likely to temper with mercy their treatment of the hands which have been clutching at their property.

It is too early to say what form such a dictatorship will take. The Fascists emphasize public order as the first requisite; they look enviously across the border at the Fascist régime in Portugal. The military would be in the saddle, but that is no new thing in Spain.

The Government is being defended by the radicals. If and when the revolt is broken, the workers who have fought Fascism will demand a much greater degree of economic power than they have hitherto received in return for their support. There has been reason to call Azaña the Spanish Kerensky.

The rebellion has proved that a united front is as necessary to the Left as a Popular Front. But the firm disbelief in politics entertained by the Anarchists and the anti-authoritarian individualism of the Spanish remain to hinder the realization of the Marxist hope of a proletarian dictatorship.

### *Europe and the Revolt*

Hitherto, Spain has been left to settle her own domestic squabbles. But the present struggle is different. For Spain is but one battlefield of a conflict which is dividing, not only the nations of Europe, but also the classes within those nations. It is a conflict between two distinct sets of political values and between two groups fighting for

economic power. Consciously or unconsciously, every nation and every class is interested in the outcome; there can be no genuine neutrals. It is almost a revival of the religious wars which split Europe in the Middle Ages.

In an effort to insulate Spain, France and Great Britain led the way in advancing a collective neutrality pact between the great powers. This pact Russia, Germany, and Italy joined with reservations. It was obvious, however, that, pact or no pact, the Spanish revolt would have repercussions upon all these powers.

Russia, Italy, and Germany were the only nations able to speak with a united voice. Russia unequivocally would prefer a Government victory on the Peninsula; Italy and Germany are equally desirous of a rebel triumph.

Of the three countries, Italy has the most to win—Ceuta and Minorca. These possessions have but little value for Spain, but, if Mussolini could conclude a successful bargain with the rebels, they would mean for Italy the realization of a degree of Mediterranean hegemony beyond her most optimistic hopes. Ceuta, fortified, would destroy British control of the Straits of Gibraltar; with Minorca only half a day's sailing distance away, Italy could cut across the two-day Gibraltar-Malta route.

This was a strong incentive for Italy to jump in on the side of the rebels, and a fascist bargain over the Mediterranean islands was reported. As it was, German and Italian airplanes and munitions were discovered in Spain, while in Russia, workers gathered in Moscow to pledge 200,000,000 rubles to the loyalist cause.

### *France and England*

Events in Spain, however, promise to affect France more than any other coun-

try. In the first place, the Popular Front in France cannot find much food for enthusiasm in the fate of its counterpart in Spain. M. Blum has not seized boldly the opportunity to entrench his régime. There is no political peace yet in France, and the main effects of the "new deal" have been to lower the value of property, angering the Right, and to raise the cost of living, disturbing the Left. The sympathies aroused by the Spanish conflict are intensifying the extremes on each side of M. Blum. If a communist régime results in Spain, the 72 Communist members of the Popular Front will need a lot of appeasing, but, if France moves too far left, England's friendship will be endangered. If the fascists win, their French colleagues will be correspondingly strengthened, and France will find herself between two fascist powers. Premier Blum finds himself falling between two stools, and his position is not made easier by having to reconcile his neutrality policy with the enlistment of Frenchmen in Spanish loyalist forces.

The British Government normally would prefer to see a fascist rather than a communist régime in Spain. Its sentiments changed, however, when it was reported that Mussolini had struck his bargain with the rebels, but General Franco hastened to give reassurance that such was not the case. As a result, England interfered to the extent of preventing a loyalist battleship from bombarding Algeciras. Presumably, her interests would be satisfied as long as Ceuta and Minorca do not go to Italy, although she would not relish a communist government north of Gibraltar.

Nevertheless, the British Labor Party was raising a fund to help the loyalists and, to show how far the implications of the Spanish struggle extend, the American Amalgamated Clothing Workers pledged \$5,000 to this fund.

The principle of neutrality cannot be disregarded with impunity. Whether or not outside powers become involved in the Spanish conflict will depend, not upon any elastic neutrality pact, but upon whether or not the fascist powers feel ready to throw their hats in the ring.

### *A European Settlement*

The reason for the urgent desire for neutrality on the part of France and Great Britain is that their plan for a "general European settlement" would be sent galley-west were all the powers actively to participate in the Spanish quarrel.

A preliminary conference among Great Britain, France, and Belgium has already been held in London. Germany and Italy have accepted invitations to a five-power conference to be held in September or October—probably the latter. It is the hope of England and France that this latter meeting will be followed by another which will include Russia and, necessarily, the Little Entente. But the five-power conference alone will be difficult enough to achieve. To placate Italy, England had to call off her anti-Italian naval pacts with Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, which were part of the erstwhile scheme of sanctions. Then Italy accepted the invitation, and Germany did likewise, presumably because of Italy's action. But her acceptance was qualified by insistence upon preliminary negotiations. That is to say, Germany is not likely to attend unless she is virtually assured of a diplomatic victory. Further discussion of the remilitarization of the Rhineland she will not tolerate. On the other hand, she may insist upon opening up the question of colonies, a point on which Great Britain, in her present mood, will not give the Reich satisfaction.

No matter how serious, these diffi-

culties are slight, however, when compared with those involved in the final stage of the program which envisages Germany and Russia sitting around a table to iron out their differences.

Nothing would be more satisfactory than this general European settlement; and nothing at the moment appears more remote. For one essential of such a plan is that other nations should know where England stands, and the British Government cannot or will not declare itself.

Behind the recent vacillations of British policy lies the doubt of the British Government whether to side with communism or fascism. On one side of the question is the established fact that Russia is one peaceful and stable factor in a chaotic situation. And, of course, the U.S.S.R. is allied with France, to whom Great Britain is committed. Against this, there is a strong pro-German sentiment in England among those who have not forgotten that Stresemann is dead. As between a military alliance with France and Belgium and one with the Nazis, there are those who favor the latter because Germany is potentially the stronger power. Behind this, there is the feeling in influential English circles that the downfall of fascism means communism and that war, perhaps, is preferable to the outright destruction of capitalism on the continent; this sentiment was apparent in the reluctance to take strong measures against Italy.

England can avoid taking sides in two ways: the first is through the success of the proposed conferences; the second, and more probable, is by sewing up Germany in the west by means of military agreements with France and Belgium, in the hope that fascists and communists will kill each other off in the east.

As in 1913, Germany is playing for British neutrality while she hastens her

rearmament and pursues the Pan-Germanic ideal. England's position on the fence suits the Nazis to perfection. But, as in 1913, it holds no prospect of keeping Great Britain out of war.

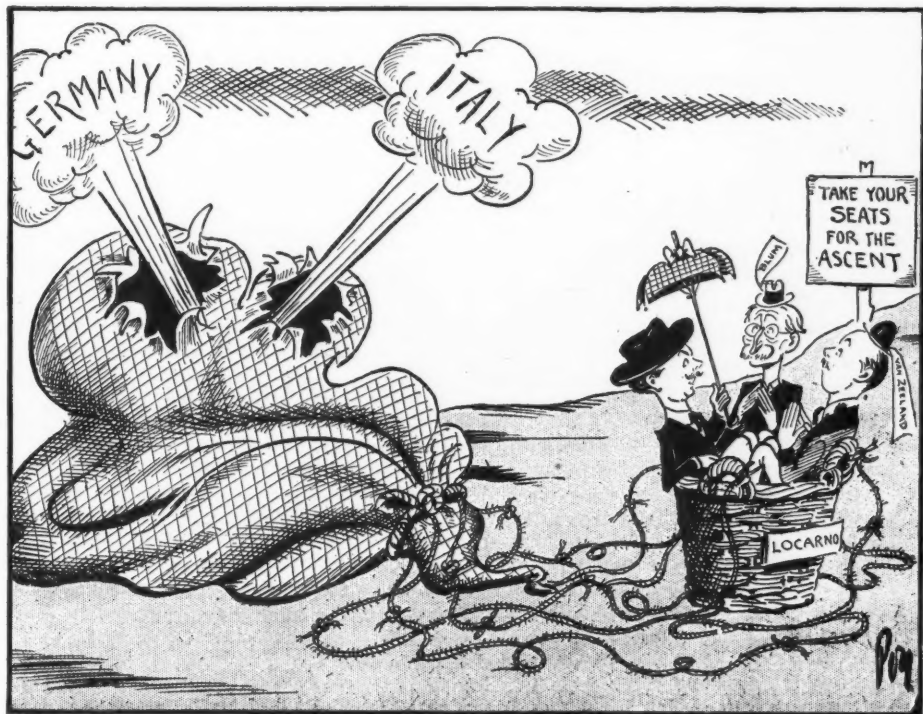
### "Mein Kampf" Goes Right On

While negotiations for a peace conference proceed, the German program of expansion on the continent continues to be run off according to the timetable.

It is clear that the result of the Berlin-Vienna agreement has been to land Austria—unprotesting and virtually unsuspecting—in Hitler's game-bag. Now *Der Fuehrer* is gunning for Hungary in an attempt to enlarge the fascist bloc. The native Hungarian Nazi movement under Count Festetics (the arrow cross is its emblem) claims a million supporters; the German minority,

numbering nearly three quarters of a million, is wholly Nazified. Both groups have welcomed the Austro-German agreement, with its blessing upon the milder Austrian Nazis; both are receiving considerable support from the Goemboes Government, which is using them as a threat to political opponents.

To the northeast, the Nazis are proceeding to a *coup* in Danzig. Already Herr Greiser and the Danzig Nazis have virtually abolished the League constitution of the Free City by a series of what are euphemistically called security measures and amount to the suppression of all opposition. The League High Commissioner is not in a position to act unless he receives a protest from the opposition; but the opposition knows what will happen to it if it dares to argue.



WHEN DOES THE BALLOON GO UP?

—Daily Mail, London



The French called upon the League to take action, but this the British refused to approve unless the protest came from Poland, the nation most vitally concerned. The Poles, on their part, seem to regard the developments calmly. And the fact that news of the Nazi move came simultaneously from Warsaw and Berlin, and not from Danzig, lends credence to the story that Colonel Beck, a pro-Nazi Foreign Minister in a nominally pro-French cabinet, is working hand-in-hand with Hitler. Poland has Gdynia; if she can get some assurance that independence of the Corridor leading to that port will be respected, she is not likely to risk offending the Reich.

It may also be noted that Hitler has lopped off another clause of the Versailles Treaty by refortifying Helgoland.

### *Germany Approaches Russia*

There is nothing Poland can do to stop Germany. The former's military superiority, which Pilsudski employed to stop the Nazis, has disappeared. The League is impotent; the French-Little Entente system, almost equally so, although the Franco-Polish alliance has been revived. Poland has eschewed Russia, so that prop is not available.

It is different in the southeast. Little Entente states formerly relied upon their own unity, upon the League, and upon France. Today, in contrast to Poland, they do not ignore Russia; they see the Soviet as the only effective alternative to Nazi Germany. Czechoslovakia already has a treaty of mutual assistance with Russia; a project has been revealed to reinforce this with a railway line crossing Roumania and joining the two signatories. The Rumanian press has published an important statement by M. Titulescu, asking closer relations with the U.S.S.R.

On the other side of the medal, Germany followed up the Austrian agreement by proposing a bilateral pact with Czechoslovakia, the purpose of which would be the granting of independence to the Sudeten Germans and cancellation of the Russian treaty. This is a continuance of the process of south-eastern extension described in last month's *Log*.

It is too early to say which way the Little Entente states will jump—whether towards Germany or Russia. The point of importance here is that the small nations in southeastern Europe are becoming little more than buffer states between the two ultimate antagonists. In fact, as the situation develops, they seem to parallel the position of Inner and Outer Mongolia which stand between Japan and Russia in the Far East.

Germany's final objective is Russia, and the lines are beginning to clear in what may be the main battlefield when fascism and communism come to grips.

### *The Dardanelles Refortified*

Following the communist-fascist struggle further to the southeast, M. Litvinov scored an important diplomatic victory for his country at the Montreux Conference.

The more immediate victory was Turkey's. She deserved it, for the abrogation of the Lausanne Treaty was gained by international negotiation and not, as it might easily have been, by force. Under that treaty, the Dardanelles were demilitarized, their control was vested in an international commission responsible to the League of Nations, and, with slight qualifications, all vessels could pass through freely. The main outcome of the Montreux conference is that Turkey gained unrestricted sovereignty over the Straights and can refortify them.

That in itself is to Russia's interest,

for the present close relations between the two countries guarantee that the Turks would not use this power against Soviet interests.

But, beyond this, Russia gained recognition of her unrestricted right to send her Black Sea fleet into the Mediterranean, while there is a limit placed upon the tonnage other powers can send there. Thus, the Soviets have obtained what the Czars long desired—an ice-free outlet in the south for the Russian fleet. In war-time, the Straits are to be opened to those carrying out the obligations of the League Covenant, or of mutual assistance pacts against an aggressor. Russia is almost certain to come in under this category. But what is more important than League documents is the fact that Turkey, Russia's ally, has the guns overlooking the Straits. And recent history shows that those guns are hard to pass.

### *Another Dictator*

When George II returned to his Greek throne last autumn, he declared himself in favor of a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary government. These ideas were never palatable to his Premier, John Metaxas. Consequently the latter jumped at the opportunity afforded by the 24-hour general strike declared by leftist trade unions. Charging that it was a "communist plot," the Greek "strong man" immediately proclaimed a state of martial law and dissolved the Chamber of Deputies.

Such dispatches as filtered through a tight censorship indicated that there was little substance to the charge that the strike even approximated a Red revolt; nevertheless it served Metaxas' purpose.

The dictatorship differs from its predecessors in that it is neither Venizelist nor anti-Venizelist, but rather fascist in nature; internationalism and anti-mili-

tarism will be suppressed, and cabinet ministers are of pronounced fascist beliefs. This new dictatorship definitely will place Greece in the fascist orbit.

### *Pause in the Far East*

The final collapse of the rebellion of the Cantonese Government marks the greatest step made towards the unification of China during the ten years of the Kuomintang régime. Achieved by the traditional Chinese method of buying off the opposition's subordinates, it represented the climax of Chiang Kai-Shek's consummately skilful efforts to weld China into a nation.

The subordination of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, however, has little or no significance with respect to the major factor in Far Eastern politics—the Japanese invasion of North China. Had it occurred five years ago, the Japanese might have thought twice before embarking on their policy of expansion. But, at this stage, Chiang Kai-Shek realizes that opposition would be futile. If China does fight Japan, it will be led, not by the newly reinforced Nationalist Government, but by the anti-Japanese movement which stands in opposition to that Government.

There are, however, other factors which place Japan in a dilemma. She is committed to her program of political and economic conquest. But, if she pursues it further westward, she will encounter Russia, whom she is not yet, apparently, ready to fight. If she chooses to move to the south, she will run foul of British and American interests, which are already threatened seriously enough to cause their owners some concern.

Considerations of time suggest that Japan pursue her course southward, avoiding Russia and either reaching an agreement with England and the States regarding their interests, or banking upon their absorption elsewhere to keep



SIDE-SHOW

—NEA Service

them out of the picture. For China today is a considerably easier prey than it will be in the future.

### **President Roosevelt Visits Canada**

More than 10,000,000 Americans visit Canada each year. This year President Roosevelt joined the tourist ranks in the pilgrimage and spent a day with the Governor General, Lord Tweedsmuir, and Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

The trip cannot be regarded as more than an informal and friendly recognition of the facts that Canada is the United States' best customer, that \$4,000,000,000 of American capital is invested there, and that the two countries share common traditions: the President expressly asserted that citizens of the United States and Canada could not refer to each other as "foreigners."

Devoid as it was of political intentions, with the exception of discussing mutual hydroelectric power problems,

the President's visit nevertheless served to underline aspects of the speech made in the Canadian House of Commons by Mr. King in declaring Canada's official endorsement of the lifting of sanctions. As F. H. Underhill, a shrewd political observer, has pointed out in the *Canadian Forum*, Canada has followed within the League much the same policy as the United States has pursued outside it. Mr. King's important declaration of Government policy emphasized the North American nature of Canadian foreign policy. Expressly reserving to Canada the right to make her own decision as to whether or not she will join in any war, waged under the Covenant of the League or otherwise, he stated that League obligations could not be considered to be a "one way" proposition: European powers which had failed to enforce sanctions in Asia and in Africa could not reasonably expect nations of other continents automatically to come to their assistance when needed.

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Mr. King's speech was the most strongly North American declaration of foreign policy yet made by a Canadian Prime Minister. He did not commit the Government either to acceptance or outright denial of European obligations, preferring not to endanger Canadian unity over an issue loaded with such explosive sentiments. Nor could President Roosevelt's visit be considered in any sense a prelude to a common North American neutrality policy.

However, it remains true that the coincidence of the two events marks the tendency of the North and South American nations to draw together as collapse threatens the collective system in Europe.

## SCIENCE

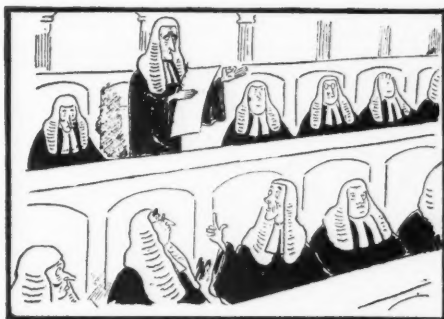
*"Now that the dusk of evening is once more falling over the world, one tie remains, that of science."*

(Message from University College, Dundee, on occasion of the Budapest University Tercentenary.)

The gloom of an obscene international polity shadows the most cloistered laboratory. Irresponsible men of immature reason and uncurbed emotion are fearful and are fascinated by the scientific machines of war. Recently in England a parliament of rulers discussed the advisability of supplying the citizenry with gas masks, despite the absurdity of the suggestion in the face of the gigantic cost. For the destruction of life the price would have been cheap, but for the preservation of life it was dismissed as prohibitive.

Other nations have already paraded their fear of this new and indiscriminate death from the sky. France has constructed underground shelters after the manner of rabbits and woodchucks who flee the enemy in a maze of subterranean warrens. Japan drills the population of Tokyo for the terror to come by extinguishing lights, shooting off guns, and starting theoretical fires.

Even the belittlers admit that bombing planes in rendezvous over a large city will enjoy some success. According to them a mere few thousand men, women, and children are fated for incineration, gassing, mutilation, and insanity. Pseudo-scientists are more sanguine; they predict that germs and gas and high explosives will destroy, not thousands, but millions of the citizenry. And yet we are assured by other experts that these are ridiculous predictions; that it is technically impossible to thoroughly saturate a city with



Chairman: "I propose increasing the funds of the intelligence corps."  
Juryman: "Why not increase the intelligence?"

—Il Travaso, Rome.

gas; that disease from the air could not become epidemic in the face of modern medical organization; that the maiming of citizens would be unstrategic when other vital targets of steel and stone are so numerous.

Last of all, the manufacturers of mustard gas offer realistic instructions: Close up the house; get into a bath (since water and gas will not mix); and then, they suggest with refreshing cynicism, "trust to luck." For this advice the citizen offers his thanks and an eternal curse upon the evil ingenuity of man. None will doubt the truth of the leading quotation—science will most certainly link all peoples at war, unfortunately.

❖ ❖ ❖

Laymen occasionally attempt to re-value science in terms of human progress. They usually succeed in perverting a self-styled objective examination into a diatribe of half truths and whole prejudices, or, they seize the opportunity to become prophets of either chaos or of Utopia. At the handiest conclave of ignorance they enumerate the sins of science; they rave; they curse; they compare the miracles of science to witchcraft and to the devil. Such is the temperament of most non-partisan, objective examiners when

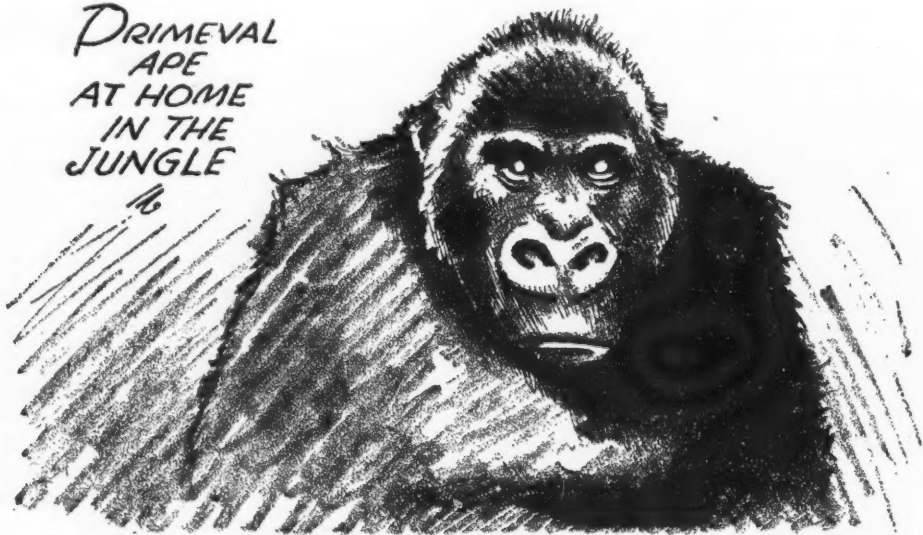


they calmly examine the claims of science. That they purport to examine the "claims" is the most palpable fabrication. Science claims nothing but the freedom of investigation, and the space in which to exercise this freedom.

Scientific workers minimize the most startling discoveries as normal accidents involved in a continued effort to develop a technique for exactly examining the world and its inhabitants.

Fortunately, able scientists are lift-

PRIMEVAL  
APE  
AT HOME  
IN THE  
JUNGLE  
16



GAS-MASK  
DRILL -  
EUROPE  
1936  
16



PAGE MR. DARWIN

—Albany Evening News

ing the burden of evaluation from the laymen and assuming the responsibility for themselves and for their work. From their financially subsidized elevation they have occasionally spoken with contempt; but lately they display an amused tolerance for their befuddled followers. Dr. Max Mason, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, recently addressed the members of the Sigma Xi fraternity of Cornell University, recounting the milestones of the chapter's existence in terms of scientific failure and success. Many of his observations are worth noting. To quote them:

### *On Technology:*

"It has become a commonplace to state that man's control over the physical forces of nature has outstripped his control of himself. Technology has given him intoxicating power, and some of the results are not surprising.\*\*\* Much must be entered on the wrong side of the ledger.\*\*\*The radio spreads throughout the land inanities which are listed under the title of humor, and exposes with pitiless fidelity the adolescent hysteria of political conventions, met to discuss the government of our country.\*\*\*This is far from the significant and basic meaning for man of the scientific method. His real problem is himself, and a new chapter in the life of man has been opened by the realization that three hundred years of scientific effort have taught him the method and brought together a vast collection of knowledge and of techniques for the study and control of human development and behavior, and arrived at a conception of man as a psychobiological organism governed by regular behavior patterns both physiological and psychological, which may be analyzed and controlled. Such a thought would have been impossible a few centuries ago."

### *On Anger:*

"Anger is a valuable emotion for the savage, determining quick and forceful action, but it is a poison to objective and rational thinking. In modern life the hormone response to this and other emotions, and all the chemical changes which organize the body to meet an emergency, do not find their normal primitive use. It is not surprising that the biochemical imbalances thus produced disturb the normal physiological behavior of the body and are responsible for much disease with definite pathology in modern life. The gastrointestinal disturbances were perhaps the first in which the psychogenetic factors were clearly recognized, but the list is an ever-growing one."

### *On Mental Disorder:*

"Disturbances of mental health strike at the very center of our existence, undermining individual happiness and effectiveness, social organization, and control of our evolving civilization. Judged only by the cases of frank and disabling mental disorder, the casualties in the evolutionary struggles of man give a staggering total. As many hospital beds are used for mental disorder in the country as for physical illness. But even this is not the heart of the matter.\*\*\*For every case of frank mental disorder there may be a score of borderline cases, a hundred lives of great unhappiness and low efficiency because of mental maladjustments, and millions heavily handicapped by distorted mental action patterns and emotional instability."

### *On Responsibility:*

"Compelling and startling force is given to the thought of the responsibility of each generation for the well-being of the next. The concept of the average human as a rational being

emerges considerably battered, as we understand something of the subconscious emotional carryover of past experience. We shall have to admit that each individual has, at best, a conditioned rationality. But this is real and great progress; for it compels an objective attitude of man to himself, a search within himself for the existence and causes of his own prejudices, a sympathy and understanding for the prejudices of others, and a deeper meaning to the responsibility of parent and teacher."

#### *On Progress:*

"Our civilization can advance as the art of living is enriched by the application of knowledge won through sciences. But scientific and technical knowledge may be used to retard and even to destroy the things most valuable in our lives, if their use be distorted by prejudice, passion, or individual and group selfishness. The safeguard is to be found in proper emotional education, both formal and informal, for the attainment of self-control, and the acquirement of the objective attitude.

These qualities are the essence of the scientific attitude, and are characteristic of the scientific worker when he is in the laboratory."

#### *On Technique:*

"Today wide publicity is given to new scientific discoveries and theories. There is no lack of public interest in the results of scientific research. I wish there were a corresponding desire to utilize to the full the simple lessons of life that the success of the scientific method teaches, and a compelling belief that the world could be made a different place if this were done."

#### *On Practice:*

"We cannot be true to the spirit of science in our laboratories and false to it in our lives. We cannot have faith in the rationalization of life without seeking to promote it. In that effort we must not overlook the obvious because it is so simple. We cannot follow the example of the common council, which, by motion resolved: "That the Fourth Ward Marsh be, and it hereby is, drained."



# BREWING A LABOR PARTY

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SOMETHING TO WATCH DURING THE NEXT FOUR YEARS  
AND PROBABLY FOR MANY YEARS THEREAFTER

BY ARTHUR E. SUFFERN

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AMONG the numerous political alignments in the making today is a labor party. The movement is greatly belated compared to similar developments in Great Britain and other countries, but the present situation seems to contain elements promising greater success than those present when previous attempts were made in the United States to form such a party. Lessons from past failures and changed conditions are contributing an impetus hitherto lacking.

The mill of history grinds slowly, and labor parties are a grist obtained only after much refining. Obviously such organizations were not possible until the propertyless wage-earner obtained the right to vote. By 1828 it was the exceptional State in this country which retained any effective property test for suffrage for white males. Most of the original States and all the newly admitted States had dispensed with the property qualification. In contrast, the English urban and agricultural workers were not enfranchised until 1867 and 1884, respectively.

The first workingman's party was launched by trade unions in Philadelphia in 1828, and the movement spread to other cities in Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and most of the New England States. Turnpikes, canals and railways, after 1828, rapidly broadened markets, and inability to protect their wage and other standards against competitive forces impelled the workers to seek

remedies by political action. Their demands were for a 10-hour day, a free tax-supported school system, abolition of imprisonment for debt, mechanics' lien laws, and freedom from prosecution under the law of conspiracy.

The trade unions and workers' parties were largely wiped out by the panic of 1837 and the following business depression. Not until after the Civil War were trade unions strong enough again to attempt to develop another labor party. This was part of the program of the National Labor Union, the first important national labor federation in the United States. But again the labor organizations were thwarted, this time by the panic of 1873 and the long depression which followed. By 1877 economic conditions were bad enough to cause a great deal of discontent which expressed itself, not only in strikes against wage cuts, but in mob action by the unemployed and their sympathizers. In fact these reactions more nearly approximated revolutionary tendencies than at any time since the birth of the nation.

Meanwhile, the Knights of Labor, which had been organized in 1869 as a secret organization, was gaining increasing strength. It not only sought to raise wages and lower hours, but it aimed by political action at abolition of the wage system and a cooperative commonwealth under which wealth and income would be more equitably distributed. It reached the height of its power in 1886, but it never attained



proportions necessary for the formation of a national labor party.

### *Politics of Business Unions*

The Knights of Labor was gradually superseded by the craft unions composing the American Federation of Labor. They stood for businesslike bargaining and avoided politics as a source of dissension within the labor movement. The skilled craft workers proposed to look after their own welfare and leave the unskilled to shift for themselves. They took this position at a time when employers were rapidly consolidating into corporations and business combinations and gaining increasing influence in politics.

In spite of adverse conditions, the workers during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s were too strong partisans for the Republican and Democratic parties to be aligned in sufficient numbers with a party primarily designed to battle for their class interests. And the important question still is whether they are so minded. They, like the middle classes, proceeded on the assumption that one or the other of the old parties could be relied on to institute measures adequate to benefit all classes. Furthermore, they assumed that both parties were sufficiently influenced by democratic theory to be devoted primarily to the improvement of mass welfare rather than to the elaboration of special privileges. Only an honest difference of opinion as to the wisest measures to be pursued was supposed to be the dividing line between the old parties. Thus the workers as well as the other classes could very well align themselves with one party or the other.

As early as 1895, a declaration that "party politics have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor" was inserted in the constitution of the federation. This con-

firmed the idea held since 1886 that the members must rely entirely on the development of economic power as the means of improving the workers' welfare. However, labor leaders were too realistic to neglect the fact that they would have to seek the intervention of the Government in economic matters. They recognized that the Government must be made more responsive to popular will, and to this end they endorsed popular election of United States Senators, the secret ballot, the initiative and referendum, and civil service reform. In 1898 the convention reaffirmed the opposition of the A. F. of L. to all partisan politics within the organization, but it urged the workers to use their ballots to elect men, regardless of party, who were friendly to labor and, if possible, to elect trade unionists.

To do this required participation in political campaigns, the raising of funds, and definite efforts "To defeat labor's enemies and to reward its friends", particularly by concentrating on certain districts where organized labor's influence would count. In 1906 the *Federationist* printed the records of candidates for Congress so that voters could distinguish between those friendly and unfriendly to organized labor and could decide whether those who had received their support had been worthy of it. However, when renewed efforts were made in 1906 and 1913 to start an independent labor party, the convention of the federation definitely turned them down. The plan devised in 1913 provided for a referendum vote of the rank and file of the various national and international unions composing the federation in order to test out the sentiment for a labor party. Labor leaders seemingly had no desire to measure it, although in many court decisions the legal status of labor unions had been delimited in

such a way that only political action could bring readjustments.

This furnished an interesting contrast to the reaction of British trade unionists when they were faced by similar conditions. Following a strike on the Taff Vale Railway in 1901, the British railway union was sued for alleged damages which were finally allowed by the highest court. The result was a surprise to lawyers, as well as to the public, because it was generally understood that the Trade Union Acts of 1871 and 1876 had freed unions from prosecution under the law of conspiracy. The unions saw that the court's decision supplied a means of milking union funds every time they struck. As a result, the Labor Party, at that time existing merely in embryo, contested the old-line parties in the election of 1906 and put 29 members in Parliament. The same year the Trades Dispute Act was enacted which overthrew the court's decision. Since then the Labor Party has been a growing force in British politics.

In the United States, the decision of the Supreme Court in the Danbury Hatters case (*Loewe v. Lawlor*, 208 U. S. 274) in 1908 granted damages against the union for \$300,000 and held individual members liable if they had property, provided the union funds were not sufficient. The precedent was applied in the Coronado case (*United Mine Workers v. Coronado Coal Co.* 259 U. S. 344) in 1922, and the union was assessed \$600,000. In neither instance did any considerable number of organized workers show any disposition to develop a labor party as a means of freeing themselves from the law of conspiracy.

During the World War, organized labor in the coal-mining, railroad, and other industries was in a position to be either a help or a hindrance to the conduct of the war. As a result, repre-

sentatives of organized labor were given positions of importance and they threw the force of the labor movement into the struggle to "make the world safe for democracy." During this period, too, the ranks of organized labor were greatly increased, and by 1920 the A. F. of L. had a paid-up membership of 4,078,740 which, with the membership in independent unions such as the railroad brotherhoods, brought the strength of organized labor to considerably over 5,000,000 members.

It was expected that measures taken during the war for the improvement of industrial relations would open up a new era for organized labor. Following the armistice, however, governmental organizations were rapidly disbanded and organized labor found itself faced with an "open shop" campaign designed primarily to smash the unions. But an adequate program for reconstruction was not advanced by organized labor and it refused to join with progressive elements in the formation of a political party committed to such a program. In fact the A. F. of L. did all it could in the Presidential campaign of 1920 to frustrate the activities of the National Labor Party, formed by various local and State labor parties the year before.

Following the rebuff of its demands by both the Democratic and Republican conventions in 1924 the A. F. of L. supported the third-party movement led by Robert M. La Follette. However, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. insisted that its support did not mean identification with a third-party movement "except as such action accords with our non-partisan political policy," and it refused to endorse the policies and principles of other groups and organizations supporting La Follette. Although the Executive Council gave this limited sup-

port to La Follette, some of the union leaders supported the Democratic and Republican candidates.

Thus the result of the non-partisan policy has been not only to divide the organized workers at the polls, but to align local and State federations of labor with the political machines of one party or the other. In Presidential elections both the Democratic and Republican parties have labor bureaus managed by a prominent union official and members of the Executive Council campaign for opposing Presidential candidates.

### *New Demands for a Labor Party*

When the A. F. of L. met in convention in October 1935, there were many evidences that discontent with economic and political conditions had created a strong sentiment for a labor party. Suffering during the depression and disappointment with results under the New Deal had convinced many that an adequate program for economic betterment could not be expected from either the Republican or Democratic parties.

Nearly a score of resolutions were introduced by representatives of international unions, State federations, city centrals, and local federal unions demanding formation of a labor party. Some of the leading proponents of a labor party declared the time was ripe for a political organization which could accomplish results beyond the power of labor organizations. They insisted that a program for balancing production and consumption by providing the unemployed with work and by a more equitable distribution of income was the principal thing needed, but that this would not be attempted by either of the old parties. They believed that, although President Roosevelt might be ever so willing to carry out a more fundamental program of

reconstruction, his dependence for electoral votes upon the South, where there is a bitter anti-labor attitude, would make it impossible for him to accomplish much. Furthermore, the opposition of Northern financial and industrial interests, they concluded, had not only made the New Deal ineffective, but precluded placement of a curb on "the concentration of the nation's income" until a Government was established by a people's party which would include industrial and agricultural workers, "the dispossessed middle class," the small business man, and the farmer.

Labor party proponents also pointed out that "the trade union movement, not only in this country, but all over the world is seriously and dangerously threatened." They reached this conclusion from events indicating that vested interests in this country are pursuing much the same policies and tactics toward organized labor as have been applied in European countries. Calling attention to the fact that opponents of a labor party had admitted the dangers facing the labor movement, the advocates asked whether leaders of the American labor movement were not failing in their solemn duty to provide aggressive and enlightened leadership by persisting in the so-called non-partisan policy toward the old parties and by not providing opposition to organizations supported by vested interests openly hostile to organized labor.

Finally, they declared that even if the convention refused to endorse a labor party, one would be formed in any event. They claimed that it already has a strong foothold in New England States, in the Middle Atlantic States, in the Midwest, and in the Far West, while beginnings have been made in certain localities of four Southern States.

The movement has received the endorsement of several State Federations of Labor, and aggressive organization is going on in many localities, some of which polled a good vote in the last election. For example, Port Huron, Michigan, elected two commissioners on the Labor Party ticket in the last election and came within 363 votes of electing the mayor. Berlin, New Hampshire, elected a Farmer-Labor city administration. The proponents of the party expect it to win dominance more easily in small industrial communities.

Those who spoke in opposition to the projected party in the A. F. of L. convention put chief stress on the fact that President Roosevelt has been friendly to labor and that formation of a labor party at this time would be playing into the hands of reactionaries.

The convention not only turned down all resolutions favoring the new party, but it refused to endorse one which merely instructed the Executive Council "to study the subject of independent labor political action with the view of taking the initiative in the formation of such a labor party."

### *The Pot Boils*

Since the convention of 1935, certain developments indicate that labor party adherents mean business. On April 1, 1936, the formation of Labor's Non-partisan League was announced. This is a misnomer because the sponsors declare that its main purpose at present is to re-elect President Roosevelt. However, it will not be affiliated with the political machine of either party. It is busily engaged in establishing local organizations in many States, and claims to have the backing of many important labor leaders. The sponsors have intimated that the organization will continue after election and will serve as the nucleus of a third

party. The Executive Board of the Ladies Garment Workers Union definitely expressed itself to this effect on June 14, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' convention, while endorsing Mr. Roosevelt for re-election, ordered the Executive Board to take an active part after the election in the formation of a labor party.

But action has already been started. On May 24, more than 200 official delegates from 100 trade unions in New York City established a permanent Trade Union Committee for the promulgation of the party. On June 6, the Chicago Conference on a Farmer-Labor Party set up a committee to collaborate with the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and other States. This committee is composed of representatives of local labor parties, farmer-labor parties and committees, local labor unions, and a diversity of other organizations favoring independent political action. On July 17, Labor's Non-partisan League of New York State definitely set itself up as an independent labor party with designated candidates and party machinery.

The recent decisions of the Supreme Court declaring minimum wage laws and other social legislation unconstitutional have given added fervor to these proponents. They are convinced that important amendments must be made to the Constitution and that these can be brought about only by a party favoring broad social changes.

If such a party is to be developed, obviously it will have to include other elements besides organized labor. It will have to make sufficient appeal to bring in, not only unorganized wage workers, but small-salaried workers, farmers, professional people, and even small business men. Obviously its program must be broad and constructive enough to convince these elements that they have more to gain from it than



from perpetuation of existing conditions.

And it must be admitted that even if such a party cannot gain enough adherents to obtain a national majority during the next few decades, it may well become powerful enough to be a potent force in American politics. It must look for its first victories in certain localities and States where it can obtain majorities. Furthermore, it re-

mains to be seen whether the evolution of such a party will result in the displacement of one of the old parties, or whether it will introduce a three-party system and government in State and Federal jurisdictions by bloc agreements. As capitalism grows older, it can hardly be expected that the United States will escape political realignments designed to satisfy increasingly diverse interests.

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*Roosevelt and Labor*—MR. ROOSEVELT is really flying under Farmer-Labor colors. Under his regime Federal money is being used to give primary producers income parity with the urbanites. The farmers naturally welcome the subsidies, and, in spite of their traditional party affiliations, hail the subsidizer as their champion.

Labor, hitherto split in political sympathy, is more pro-Roosevelt than even the farmers. The unity is the more remarkable in view of the severe internal warfare which keeps Labor divided on other issues.

The PRESIDENT has won the fealty of Labor because he aims at the reconstruction of the capitalistic system on behalf of the workers. \* \* \* His adherence to this creed has just been demonstrated in an epoch-making document. At his instigation the railways have agreed generously to subsidize Labor displaced by technological improvement. So the workers are leaving the Socialist party to those intellectuals who have just chosen as their Presidential candidate the ex-clergyman NORMAN THOMAS.

At the other extreme of opposition are the embittered practitioners of big business and high finance. They are almost solidly anti-Roosevelt. \* \* \* Even the PRESIDENT's physical disability is made a weapon of disparagement. \* \* \* In this hostility one lives again in the atmosphere of England in the days when MR. LLOYD GEORGE was "soaking the rich," but the atmosphere here is much more acrimonious.

*The Observer*, London, May 31, 1936.

## SCHOOLING UNDER THE DICTATORS



Glances at the classrooms of Russia, Germany, Italy, and Turkey, revealing the new generation—several million reasons why we might widen the Atlantic and Pacific while still giving ear to the optimists.

By L. S. Stavrianos

"THE history of Europe is the work of the peoples of the Nordic race." (*Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichts-Verwaltung in Preussen*, Aug. 5, 1933.)

"The Turks are the most ancient nation in the world." (*School and Society*, vol. 38, p. 92.)

"The Italian people is no longer a soft moonlight serenader, but a people of soldiers, a people of religious, rhapsodic warriors with the mystic fire of their own faith \* \* \*" (Mario Carli, *Fascismo Intransigente*, p. 215.)

"The witch in Haensel and Gretel was French, and the wolf in Little Red Riding Hood was a Jew in disguise!" (*School and Society*, vol. 39, p. 554.)

These, and other equally unique ideas today form the basis of the education of millions of European youth.

The importance of such educational concepts can scarcely be overestimated, especially in the modern era. With the French Revolution, education be-

gan to be used as a political instrument on a national scale, but up to the World War only elementary education was used to obtain obedience to the state, while higher education enjoyed a measure of freedom. In the post-war period, however, and especially in the totalitarian states, this distinction has been obliterated, and education in all its aspects is used for the indoctrination of the citizens. Schools and textbooks, therefore, are of particular importance in modern society, for today, more than at any other time, they determine the thoughts and actions of people and statesmen.

With the ending of the World War and the creation of the German Republic, a promising start was made in revising education in Europe by the inclusion in the Weimar Constitution of an article which provided that: "In all schools an effort shall be made to develop civic sentiment, personal and vocational activity and the spirit

of the German national character and of international conciliation. . . ."

Unfortunately the Republic was slow in preparing new texts and many anti-republican and conservative teachers of the old régime were retained. Thus, when the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace appointed a committee in 1921 to investigate the nature of German textbooks, it reported that German military history was still dominant and that children were still taught that Germany is God's elect and that might makes right. The war was due to English jealousy. French *revanche*, and Russian ambition; the great, unjustifiable war atrocity was the continuation of the blockade of Germany after the armistice resulting in the starvation of German children; the Treaty of Versailles was one of enslavement and a gross breach of Wilson's Fourteen Points; the treaty must not be permanent! French children, on the other hand, were taught that the war was due to German aggression and militarism; the Germans were guilty of such vile atrocities as bombing cathedrals, using poison gas and liquid flames; the Treaty of Versailles was one of justice, based on the Fourteen Points; the German menace will never cease, so beware, youth of France!

### *History for the Germans*

A situation such as this may seem bad enough, but since the accession of Hitler, it has become infinitely worse. The fundamental principle dominating education in Germany today is that of *Gleichschaltung* which might be defined as a species of physical, emotional, and intellectual goosestepping. Education, like everything else, must be subordinated to the interests of the state. Quoting from a German educational review, "Objectivity in the teaching of history is only one of the

numerous fallacies of liberalism. It is not man in general who studies history, but a German, a Frenchman, an Englishman, etc. \* \* \* We will never approach history impartially, but as Germans. . ." (*Die Deutsche Schule*, Sept. 1933.)

What a far cry this is from the Germany of Von Ranke. The full significance of these theories is revealed in the following instructions issued on July 20, 1933, by Dr. Wilhelm Frick, Minister of the Interior, as suggestions for the writing of history textbooks. (*Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichts-Verwaltung in Preussen*, Aug. 5, 1933, pp. 196 ff.) The study of history, henceforth, is to begin with the primeval German forests instead of with the Nile and Euphrates and the peculiar virtues of the ancient Teutons are to be glorified in order to arouse national pride. Emphasis is to be placed on the last two decades of German history, especially the heroic struggle of Germany against the world during the war, the "stab-in-the-back" myth, the degradation of Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, the chaotic government of the liberals and Marxists, and finally, the awakening and liberation of the nation by the National Socialists. The texts must also stress the national idea as against the international, "whose slimy poison has for more than a century actually threatened to devour the German soul. . ." Owing to the existence of German minorities outside the Reich, "the historical survey in dealing with German history must not be limited to the territory lying within the German frontiers, but must constantly keep an eye on the fate of the brothers of our stock who live outside." The importance of leadership must also be emphasized, so that the study of history is to be centered around such figures as Charlemagne, Frederick the Great, Bismarck,



Underwood &amp; Underwood

**BURNING THE BOOKS:** An unforgettable episode of the Hitler ascension. The Nazi-garbed figures are students; thousands of their books are in the flames, because they did not fit the Hitler pattern.

and Hitler. Finally, the racial factor is to be the central theme of history. Nordic tribes penetrated India, Asia Minor, North Africa, Greece, and Rome, and it was the influence of these Nordics which determined the history of the ancient civilizations until they were absorbed by inferior native races. Thus, only on the basis of race will German children learn the history of other nations, and even then the history of Germany will be the nucleus.

### *Deifying Herr Hitler*

These, then, are the theories. As for the means of application, there is first the classroom. The school entrance halls are decorated with pictures of prominent Nazis, every classroom has its picture of Hitler, and school opens each morning with a prayer in which "the great and bold

Chancellor" is given a prominent place. The teacher then asks such leading questions as, "Who at the present day, reminds us most strongly of Jesus by his love of the people and his love of sacrifice?" to which the answer is "Herr Hitler."

"And who reminds us, by their loyalty and devotion, of the Disciples?" The answer is: "General Goering, Dr. Goebbels, etc." (V. Ogilvie, *Education Under Hitler*, p. 10.)

Similarly, every week the children have to learn a saying (*Wochen-spruch*) which they repeat every day for that week. Many of these sayings are designed to instil into the young minds a hatred of other nations, a wildly exaggerated opinion of Germany, and an admiration for war. For example, on the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles



the children memorize the following verse: "Versailles is a lie, is dishonor and shame, Versailles is thy death, O Fatherland! You are a German child, so think of it, what the enemy did to you in Versailles." (Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, p. 11.)

Equally significant are the Nazi textbooks used in the schools. Typical of these is one by von Fikenscher which deals with German history from 1914 to 1933 and which has been strongly recommended by the Nazi minister of education. (Von Fikenscher, *Aufbruch der Nation*.) The origin of the war is attributed to the encirclement of Germany by jealous powers and the course of the war is described as "an almost unbroken series of victories." It was lies outside and enemies within who brought about the undoing of Germany. In dealing with the period immediately following the war, the Jew, the Communist, and the Peace Conference are indicated as the main villains in the historical situation.

"Under the leadership of the alien Jew, Kurt Eisner, the revolution began in Munich \* \* \* Then the revolution gallops with blood-stained flags through Germany."

This period culminates in an account of the Hitler *putsch* and closes with Hitler in prison writing *Mein Kampf*. In the next period (1923-1929) are described the disintegrating experiences of the inflation, the occupation of Ruhr and the Young Plan for reparation payments which "made hundreds of thousands of German workers directly, and millions of workers indirectly, slaves of the Jewish World-Capital." In the years of depression and increasing social misery, the German people are represented as creatures whose blood is being sucked by international Jews and financiers. Finally, the people became restless under the chaotic government of the

liberals and communists. More and more people said, "'Aye, Hitler is right.' More and more, millions upon millions. So at last the men of the old government said: 'We are ashamed of ourselves! We had better go.' So Hindenburg came to Hitler and said to him: 'You form a Government.' That was on the 30th of January, 1933. So he became Chancellor of the Reich." To stimulate enthusiasm for this coming of the savior, numerous poems and songs are included glorifying Hitler and the Nazi movement in general.

"To Adolf Hitler our leader  
we extend our hand,

Brothers, forward to the last  
struggle for the Fatherland  
Away with the Jews and the  
traitors,

To Adolf Hitler we pledge  
ourselves,

Faithful unto Death."

"... a place of light ... liberty ..."

These are ideas found in elementary texts, but the universities also have been forced to toe the line. Their celebrated *Lehrfreiheit* is now a thing of the past. The rector, or head of the university, was formerly chosen by his colleagues for one-year periods, but now he is appointed by, and is responsible to, the Minister of Public Instruction. The senate which used to be the chief authoritative body of the university has now only advisory functions. As for the students, their number is limited to 15,000 and none with "Marxist or anti-National leanings" are admitted. The student governing bodies have all been united into the official *Deutsche Studentschaft*. The Minister of Public Instruction appoints the national leader of this organization, and he in turn, appoints the local leaders, so that these leaders, all appointed from above, make the decisions. The students obey.

Finally, three extra-school agencies, the Hitler Youth, the *Landjahr* and the *Arbeitsdienst*, have been created for the "development of character, will-power, and courage"—and, one might add, proper political beliefs. From this survey an idea can be gained of the thoroughness and effectiveness of political education in Germany. General Goering has said, "Already Germany is morally rearmed." The Nazi educational machine fully justifies his boast.

### *Textbooks Make the Fascist*

The country whose educational policies most clearly resemble those of Nazi Germany is Fascist Italy. Mussolini has neatly summed up the aim of the Fascist educational system in his motto, "The textbook and the musket make a perfect Fascist." (Schneider and Clough, *Making Fascists*, p. 110.) The methods by which this principle has been put into effect are much the same as in Germany. Since the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian War, for example, toy manufacturers have produced miniature tanks and armored cars to replace tricycles as means of juvenile locomotion. For a few cents, stock model "men" can be bought that will show Black Shirts, regulars, Askari, dubats, and shamma-clad Ethiopians in almost every conceivable position of warlike action. The shelves even contain fallen Ethiopians with severed limbs.

For those children past the age of toys there are the schools. Practically speaking, every school has been converted into a branch of the Fascist Party. The picture of the Duce and the King, and the Crucifix, decorate every room. Each school has a flag which is run up every day to the singing of the royal anthem, the *Balilla*, and other Fascist songs. Every class-

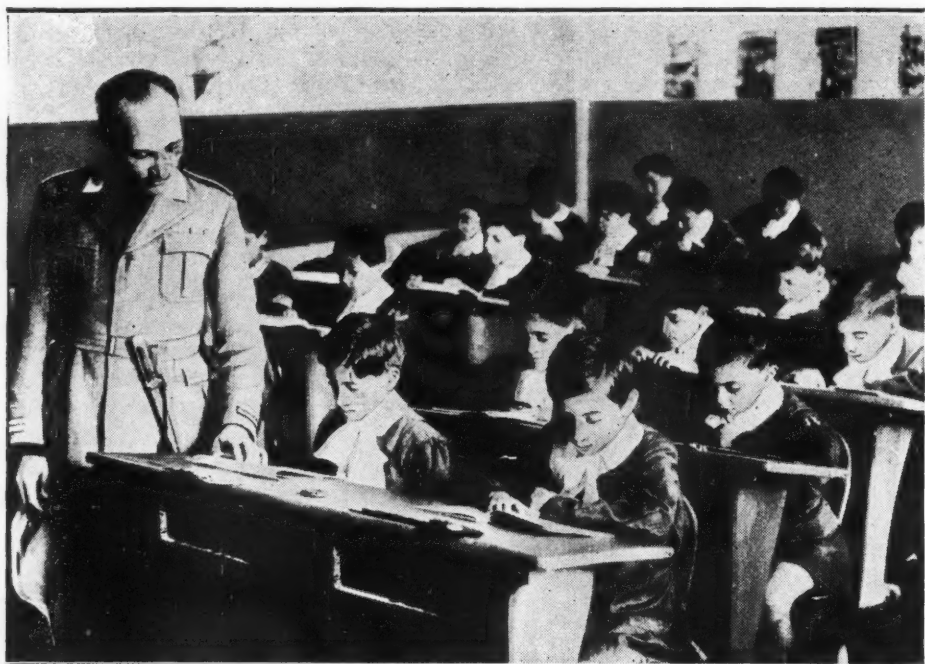
room is named after a Fascist martyr and the teacher marches into the room in his Black Shirt. Similarly with textbooks, the dominant idea is the greatness of Italy. On the first page of the first primer are found the words "Duce", "Fascismo", and "Mussolini", and on the last page are the sentences: "We children must salute the King, Mussolini, and our own great country Italy."

"Italy is the greatest of all nations."

In the texts for the higher grades, the glory of Italy, the virtues of Fascism, the bravery of Italian soldiers, and the desirability of large families are carefully impressed upon the minds of the children.

In addition, the Italian Government since 1935 requires compulsory military training in all schools. This "military culture" course includes map reading, military characteristics of terrain, Italian Colonies in relation to military problems, importance of maritime power and sea communications, land and naval battles in the World War and the military policies of the principal nations of the world.

Finally, as in Germany, the Government has created Fascist youth organizations and has dissolved all those agencies which might compete with them, such as the Catholic Boy Scouts. Children between six and twelve are enrolled in the *Balilla* where they wear black shirts, drill regularly, and learn to shoot. From the *Balilla*, the children pass to the *Avanguardia*, where, by the age of fourteen, they are able to handle a machine gun and drill a squad. At eighteen, boys enter the militia and the Fascist Party, taking the vow, "I swear to obey the orders of the Duce without question, and to serve the cause of the Fascist Revolution with all my strength and, if necessary, with my blood." (Schneider and Clough, *op. cit.*, p. 179.)



*International News Photos*  
**LESSONS IN UNIFORM:** Italian school children at their studies. In keeping with the Fascist textbook-and-musket formula for learning, note the uniformed instructor, the black-shirted pupils.

### *We Owe It to the Turks*

Rivaling the Nazis and their Aryan race doctrines are the novel theories in the new Turkish history texts. Far from being a predatory race of barbarians, the Turkish people, it is claimed, developed a high state of culture in remote ages in their homeland in Central Asia. With the climatic changes in that region, there began migrations which lasted for 9,000 years and which resulted in the spreading of enlightenment among the less civilized peoples of China, India, Mesopotamia, the Nile Valley, Greece, and Rome. These Turks even reached England and Ireland, and on their way, taught the rest of Europe the domestication of animals and agriculture. The first system of writing also originated with the Turks, while the Sumerians, Hittites, Egyptians, Phoenicians, and

Jews, being of Turkish origin, all borrowed much from the primitive Turkish religion. Thus the Turks are the fathers of civilization and the possessors of one of the greatest and most glorious histories in the world.

As in Germany and Italy, the Soviet authorities use every agency at their command to attain their objectives, which, however, are quite different from those of the western nations. Karl Marx long ago laid down the general thesis that nationalism is subordinate to, and must be replaced by, the international class concept. Accordingly the aim of the Soviet Government is not to make Russians out of its conglomerate peoples, but to train them as Communists.

### *Kindergarten Communists*

To realize this aim, the Government uses the factories, collective farms,

theaters, books, newspapers, sport societies, and the Red Army. From their earliest years in the nursery schools, the children are trained to be socially minded and this is done indirectly rather than by the preaching of principles. They must help each other put on and fasten their clothes. They must learn how to hold meetings. They are taken to the factory and told what it all means. They are not considered separate from adult society, but members of it with rights and duties.

Care is also taken to stress international proletarianism as well as social-mindedness. The new first reader for country schools opens with: "Go to work, little kindergartners, to build up socialism." It ends with a forecast of world revolution: "We workers of the whole world jointly struggle against the capitalism of the whole world under the banner of the Comintern."

The companion book for city schools opens with: "Let us organize our life and work."

It closes with: "Enemies cannot destroy our banner. We are building socialism in the U. S. S. R. and we are able to defend it." This is followed by a picture of the Soviet flag and the slogan, "Long live the world revolution."

In the higher grades these concepts are furthered by compulsory courses in history and economics which are presented from the revolutionary viewpoint. The nature of these courses is best revealed in the instructions recently issued for guidance in the writing of a new history text. A commission had previously been appointed to prepare the text, and after laboring a year, it decided to reintroduce the old bourgeois division of ancient, medieval, and modern history. Their reward was a blistering condemnation for al-



*Soufoto*

**TO BUILD UP SOCIALISM:** Communist indoctrination begins early in Russia. The youngsters shown here are not too young to know their "enemies," to start now toward the destruction of capitalism.



leged defects plus "unscientific definitions from the standpoint of Marxism." A new commission therefore has been appointed consisting of prominent historians and publicists. The instructions require that the basis of the book is to be the contrast between a bourgeois revolution, as illustrated by the French Revolution, and a Socialist revolution, as shown by the Russian Revolution of 1917. The French Revolution liberated the people from the chains of feudalism, but placed them in the chains of capitalism and bourgeois democracy, while the Socialist revolution in Russia has smashed all chains and liberated the people from every form of exploitation.

The importance of this political education may be judged from the fact that whereas only seven millions were enrolled in schools in 1914, over 32 millions by 1935 were receiving full-time education. As in Germany and Italy, "political literacy," as it is termed in Russia, is furthered by youth organizations—the Octobrists, Pioneers, and Komsomols. Thus, whether or not one agrees with their doctrines, the Communists are today bringing up millions of children imbued with their theories and ideals.



There now arises the problem of ascertaining the effects of these educational systems. In the first place, the dictatorships in Russia, Turkey, and Italy have undoubtedly brought education to the masses, even though it is political in nature. In each one of these countries illiteracy has been greatly reduced or abolished. In addition, these dictatorships are bringing up a generation of children far healthier than their predecessors. The objective may be to use them as cannon fodder, but the fact remains that, by organizing youth and athletic so-

cieties on a national scale, they are giving every child a chance to face life with good health and a sound body. Equally important is the psychological effect. It is a well-known sociological principle that man, as a social animal, is happy only when he feels himself a part of, and in harmony with, the ideals and aims of the community in which he lives. In democratic countries at the present time, due to the sharp clash of interests and ideals, this feeling of community of interest and purpose is completely lacking. Only a small proportion of American youth, for example, finds the citizenship training that it receives an incentive to an aggressive defense of democratic principles. In the dictatorship countries, on the other hand, the educational agencies have developed an intense spirit of group unity and loyalty to national ideals which makes the life of each individual more complete and worth while.

However, there is the other side of the picture and it is literally appalling to think of. Young Germans are being taught to hate and despise their neighbors and to strive at all times to overthrow the Versailles Peace Settlement and regain the lost German lands. Italian children are taught that Italy is the greatest nation in the world and that other countries fear and envy them and are plotting against them. Young Communists are told that the capitalist world is arrayed against them and that their great duty is the world revolution of the proletariat. The same thing is going on to a lesser degree in Turkey, France, Japan, and other nations. When it is realized that whole generations of future citizens are being instilled with war doctrines, the plans for international cooperation based on some vaporous conception of fostering international good-feeling sound unreal and Utopian.

# AS I SEE EUROPE — a states-

man's view of an *impasse*, by Tibor Eckhardt

EUROPE has got into an *impasse*. The thoughts of every man are concerned with peace; the entire world seeks it. But in this matter of a world peace ideal, the aspirations of the various nations stand in direct contrast with their actions. We yearn for peace but do everything that is calculated to lead to war. Unfortunately, this is a paradox which mankind seems able neither to realize nor to understand.

All the ills which have beset our world since the war can be traced back to the fact that, though the principles of President Wilson had been openly professed, and though the nations had clasped hands in good faith on these principles, they were kept out of the conference room where the treaties were drafted, and the line adopted was exactly the reverse. In place of the humanitarian spirit of Wilson, the force that carried the day was the iron will of Clemenceau, who had no faith in righteous peace, who believed in the coming of a German *revanche* and who set as the aim of the peace treaties the task of putting off that evil day as long as possible.

The Paris peace treaties were thus the outcome of an unbending will; out of them inevitably grew the situation we are facing today. We are truly in an *impasse*, but I hope we may find a way out.

The victor states have had, during the past years, three means at their disposal wherewith to keep down the conquered states. The first of these was reparations, the total sum of

which was set so high that, even by applying all their strength to the payment of them, the defeated could not meet the bill. The first total was 135 milliards of gold francs, the payment of which was an economic impossibility. But despite the criticisms from all well-informed quarters, the victors maintained extravagant claims in the hope that this would keep the vanquished crushed. As one result, within the space of ten years the nations lost every shred of confidence in each other. This loss of confidence led eventually to consequences of peculiar gravity in the field of economics. And that is the basis of the present unsound autarchic development.

The second method employed to keep the vanquished cowed was the one-sided disarmament clauses which reduced the former Central Powers to a state of defenselessness. Their activity in international affairs was paralyzed; for the international influence of a country depends, in the last instance, upon its strength. And national strength is synonymous with military strength. The disarmed Central Powers were helpless, and therefore were without capacity for negotiation.

While we are dealing with the efforts of the victor states to maintain the *status quo* created by the peace treaties, we must mention the League of Nations which, in intention, was to have been something vastly different from what it has since become. President Wilson purposed making Articles

10 and 19 of the Covenant the twin pillars upon which the League would rest. Article 10, it may be recalled, codifies the *status quo* as outlined in the peace treaties while Article 19 provides the principle for amendment of the *status quo* as need and occasion arise. Thus the *status quo* plus its potential revision were to constitute the basis of permanent peace. But as time went on, Article 19 lapsed out of sight, while Article 10 acquired an ever greater prominence. The Little Entente went so far as to state that any political move based on Article 19 would be considered as a *casus belli*. The instrument for the preservation of peace was thus twisted out of its original axis. It has purposed the conservation of existing things but had provided for their being adjusted to the necessities arising out of changing situations. Instead of that, the League grew into an association of the victor states. From the outset rifts could be discerned in its fabric. As soon as they appeared, these rifts were hastily stuffed with the cement of empty phrases.

For example, let me adduce the question of national minorities, for the League of Nations must bear the responsibility for the sad muddle in which it finds itself today. On the proposal of Tittoni, the League had originally undertaken the solemn obligation of watching over the application of those clauses of the treaties which deal with the treatment of national minorities. But in due course there evolved a technical procedure that rendered ineffective all attempts at dealing practically with a minority complaint. This was carried so far that a state or a minority putting forward such a complaint found itself exposed to the danger of being made to suffer for its audacity. Let me cite in this connection the significant decla-

ration of Mello Franco that the minority clauses were only there for the purpose of decently cloaking the process of assimilating minorities! I will not enter into details as to how this was done; I merely want to point out that the integral carrying out of the clauses of the peace treaties is by no means so exclusive a care of French policy as French statesmen are fond of claiming today. Two years ago, I demanded in specific instances that the protection afforded by the treaties should be given to minorities. This demand was received by the Little Entente, as well as by France, in the most unfriendly spirit.

From all of which I conclude that, just as in the case of reparations, the victor states were primarily concerned with using the peace treaties as a means to keep down the vanquished states. So far as reparations are concerned, this process has stopped; but Hoover's moratorium was required before it could come to an end.

Other difficulties have arisen since then. Subsequent to the foundation of the League of Nations, many of the member states have concluded treaties with each other, the sum total of which has led to a situation of great complexity. These treaties are of various kinds but most of them appear to me to be in essence different from the spirit of the Kellogg Pact, the root principle of which is permanent peace. Yet these pacts were rendered necessary by the difficulties inherent to an ill-constructed political world. Before the war, such treaties were not of such import as they are today; for there was then such a thing as Balance of Power. That has now ceased to exist.

The peace treaties set up one group of powers invested with such predominance of might that its impetus was left without a brake; human

nature always inclines to excess when there is no brake at hand.

It may be doubted whether even well-informed people realize how numerous are these post-war pacts; the Hungarian Government published a list of them that makes up a volume, though only the titles are enumerated without citing the contents. Let us examine the nature of these pacts.

There are the so-called non-aggression pacts—the mildest form of post-war diplomacy. Then there are amity pacts and consultative pacts. These last stipulate that the contracting parties must consult each other before embarking upon any important action in foreign affairs. Of late, a fourth kind of pact has made its appearance known as the mutual assistance pact.

I should like to put a blunt question: does there exist an organization, namely the League of Nations, the task of which is to preserve peace? If so, then such pacts are superfluous and their contents merely empty phrases. If not,—if the League does not exist, or exists only as a shadow of its own self—then doubtless these pacts are necessary. But in that case there is no sense in burdening them with a clause enacting that aggression must be defined and decided by this *de facto* non-existent League of Nations! There is no getting away from the stern logic of these alternatives.

Of course attempts have been made to agree upon a definition of aggression. The London declaration appears to reduce itself to the following formula: a state is the aggressor when it is so described by its opponent. Let me illustrate this. The present chief of state in Yugoslavia, with whom we negotiated in Geneva on the question of how far we were responsible for the fact that individual Croatian emigrants had crossed Hungary on their way to France to murder King Alex-

ander, affirmed that this fact constituted an act of aggression on our part—an act of aggression that conveyed automatically the right to have recourse to military action!

Of all the pacts I have in mind, the one binding together the states of the Little Entente is without doubt the most characteristic. It came to pass in 1921 as a safeguard against a possible attempt at Hapsburg restorations in Austria and in Hungary. There are two points in this connection that must puzzle the objective thinker. The first is this: a restoration of the Hapsburgs in Hungary is considered as a breach of the peace, though clearly the question of who is to sit upon the Hungarian throne is a purely internal Hungarian question. Only Hungary herself is entitled to decide whom she will elect to the throne. How then can a foreign power arrogate to itself the right to consider such an election as a *casus belli*? The second puzzling point is that the Little Entente considers any Hungarian move in the direction of a revision of existing frontiers as a provocation that would justify having recourse to military action. This view is in flagrant contradiction to Article 19 of the Covenant. This is so evident that it needs no elaboration.

It is precisely this organized and inherent hypocrisy as it exists today that helped National Socialism to hoist itself into power. National Socialism is the reaction to an inefficient and deceptive League of Nations. It has been nurtured by an untenable international situation. I hold no brief for present-day Germany, but I am bound to record my conviction that when force is substituted for peaceful agreement, a nation of 65 million souls has no alternative but to have recourse to independent action. Germany today is a dynamic expression of the refusal to



recognize the moral justification for the existence of states of an inferior order, who are bound to observe an untenable *status quo* whether they will or not.

Barthou saw this very clearly, and that is the reason why he invited Soviet Russia to join the League. The result was the Franco-Soviet and the Czechoslovak-Soviet pacts. When these came up for discussion before the Council of the League, sharp differences of opinion became manifest between Barthou and the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs. It was a clash of two viewpoints, both of which were justified. For while it is impossible to reject wholesale the German claim, it is equally impossible to deny the validity of the French view that the armament of 65 million Germans constitutes a danger to France. This consideration had already inspired Barthou to found the Balkan League, which was to supplement the Little Entente as a dam on revisionist policy.

The Franco-Soviet pact is of special significance for the whole of Europe for the simple reason that its text does not bind the contracting parties to the necessity of awaiting the League of Nations decision regarding the aggressor. This fact renders the Franco-Soviet pact a pure and simple treaty of military alliance, such as was usual before the war and before the League of Nations was formed.

Peculiar import is given to this aspect of the treaty by the widely prevalent belief, vividly expressed on one occasion by Mr. Lloyd George, that the intervention of Asiatic Russia in European affairs constitutes a grave danger to European civilization and that an extension of the Soviets to Germany would entail the collapse of the Western world.

We in Hungary have our own

reasons for anxiety regarding this Franco-Soviet alliance. Hungary's historic rôle has ever been that of a dam protecting Europe from Asiatic inroads. The Crimean war came to an end only through the mobilization of Austro-Hungarian armies. We kept the European watch on the Carpathians, for Rumania is incapable of fulfilling that task. And already we are feeling the threat. In immediate vicinity to our frontiers Soviet Russia already disposes over 30 military aerodromes. That in Ungvar alone can accommodate 1,000 planes. To what end? Is it not in order to awaken into life anew the Panslav movement?

But if the Panslav movement be justified, who shall say that the pan-German movement is not justified? And if that is so, then how could Austria be prevented from joining it?

The mere statement of these facts reveals the dangers that beset European peace, and incidentally Hungarian peace. For in such a war Hungary would be what Galicia was in the last war—the theater of military operations. And this would mean the utter destruction of the country.

I should like to make another point. The treaties of alliance which France and Czechoslovakia have concluded with Soviet Russia render nugatory all the plans for a common-sense solution of the Danubian problem. Sooner or later one of the two contending forces, Germany or Russia, will try to conquer parts of the Danube basin, or at least to bring them under their influence. Germany in this respect has made no secret of her ambitions. Her dreams are concentrated around Austria. Unless the situation be radically altered, the *Anschluss* will become inevitable despite the recent Austro-German agreements. The only question is when and how the attempt is going to be made. And those Rus-

sian aerodromes near the Hungarian frontier are meant as an answer to German ambitions.

I am convinced that this Danubian problem, of which we hear so much just now, is only another fateful consequence of ill-constructed peace treaties. Instead of aiming at a modern reconstruction of that Austro-Hungarian monarchy, of which a leading Western statesman once said that if it did not exist it would have to be invented, the treaty-makers aimed at its destruction. And the work of destruction has been most efficiently carried out. There can be scarcely a question of reconstructing it out of the débris. At least not yet. But that is precisely the fundamental error that vitiates European politics today.

The fate of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was settled according to the wishes of certain political emigrants. Political emigrants are usually unwise counsellors for they are animated by one leading idea: to get back home as quickly as possible. In order to do so, they face with equanimity the prospect of destroying existing things. The monarchy had to be smashed in order that its exiled enemies might return. Historical needs, economic facts were disregarded. This irresponsible policy led to the present sad state of affairs in the basin of the Danube. Time has not helped to heal these wounds. On the contrary, the complications are growing steadily worse.

They are not improved by manifold and stupid experiments in autarchy. Miniature autarchies are surely impossible. This sort of thing is only practicable in a vast country that can be so organized economically as to become self-contained and self-supporting. In small countries such experiments are doomed to failure and can only result in embittering the lives of the citizens and in strangling national

buying-power on the world markets.

These Danubian problems can neither be postponed nor temporarily patched up. They can only be solved by efficient methods of compromise. Should there exist, on the other side of our frontiers, a willing spirit of honest compromise, we Hungarians will not fail to respond. The Czechoslovak Premier, Dr. Milan Hodza, made such an overture in December last. I noted that with intense satisfaction, for I am convinced that economic settlement of the Danubian question can only be reached on the principle of *do ut des*. On the political side, pacts of non-aggression could also be useful between the Danubian states. But the primary condition for all this is that Hungary shall be able to take her seat at the conference table as a partner with equal rights. Unless this condition be met, it was useless for Hungary to agree to any sort of Danubian pact, for if we sign a treaty we must be in a position to guarantee its fulfilment.



There can be no doubt that the conflict which faces the world today is the most serious since the World War. In Berlin and elsewhere schemes have been mooted for the pacification of Europe, and it is conceivable that they may afford, at any rate, a basis for discussion. But above all things what is required is to adjust peace to the natural demands of life.

To this end it is necessary that the conference that may sit to discuss Adolf Hitler's twenty-five-year peace plan and the counter-proposals which have since been made, shall deal not only with the Rhine, but also with the Danube. The problems of the Rhine have today perhaps more actuality but the real herd of danger to world peace is on the Danube.

# Die Deutsche Revolution

**Organ der Schwarzen Front**  
HERAUSGEBER DR. OTTO STRASSER

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## Kongress der Schwarzen Front

### Der 2. Illegale Reichskongress im Ausland-Glänzende Stimmung der Delegierten

In Straßburg fand Ende Dezember 1935 unter dem Vorsitz Dr. Otto Strassers der 2. illegale Reichskongress der Schwarzen Front statt.

Es waren nicht die Massen unserer 1. Reichskongresse von Berlin (Oktober 1930), nicht die bunten Scharen des 2. Kongresses von Burg Lauenstein (Oktober 1931) und nicht die schwarzen Gliederungen des 3. Reichskongresses auf der Zugspitze (Oktober 1932), die dem Kongress von Straßburg ihr Gepräge gaben. Fast alle Führer der damaligen Zeit, wie Dr. Otto Herbert Blank, Dr. Becke, Dr. Grunz, Schreck, Simon, Bülow, Kayser usw., schwebten mit mehr als 500 Kampfgemeinen in den Zuschauern, Gefangenen und Konzentrationen des Hiltersystems.

Mit einer einzigen Ausnahme waren die Straßburger Delegierten alles neue Leute, diesmal den Beiräten des südlichen, westlichen und nördlichen Deutschlands entnommen, nachdem der illegale Reichskongress in Attanauchheim (Sommer 1935) vornehmlich die bayerischen, sächsischen und schlesischen Bezirke vertreten sah.

Von umso größerer Bedeutung war es, dass trotz dieser Umschichtung der alten Organisation und trotz der regionalen Schwierigkeiten fast zwei Drittel Delegierte der Straßburger Tagung beizubehalten, was schon rein technisch eine gewaltige Leistung bedeutet, da die Kongreßteilnehmer aus naheliegenden Gründen nur auf einige Stunden in Straßburg weilen konnten.

Wichtiger aber als diese technisch-organisatorische Leistung war der politische Erfolg dieses 2. illegalen Kongresses der Schwarzen Front, war vor allem die Manifestation eines abgegrenzten Kampfwillens, der wieder einmal offenbar gewordenen Einheitsfront und Klarheit des politischen Willens.

Es blieb offen, wer mehr und freudiger überrascht wurde: die Delegierten über die hundertprozentige Einheitsfront ihrer Anschauungen und Wünsche mit dem ihnen bisher größtenteils persönlich unbekannt gewesenen Otto Strasser oder Dr. Otto Strasser über die völlige Einheitsfront und erstklassige Schulung der Delegierten, die fast durchwegs erst nach Hitlers Machtgreifung der Schwarzen Front beigetreten waren.

Unter diesen Umständen bedurfte es keiner weitläufigen Ausführungen: nachdem erst sämtliche Delegierten ein kurzes, aber einmütiges und unerschütterliches Bekenntnis zum Kampf um die Umgestaltung des deutschen Volkes abgegeben hatten (dieser Zusammenfassung an anderer Stelle der heutigen Folge wiedergegeben ist), legte Dr. Strasser in längeren Ausführungen die Ansicht

der Führung über Lage und Entwicklung des Hiltersystems dar, und gab verbindliche Anweisungen über die Arbeit der Schwarzen Front in den nächsten Monaten, unter Berücksichtigung der verschiedenen Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten. So weit notwendig und rätlich, wurden die Delegierten auch von der Arbeit der Auslandszentrale unterrichtet, wobei vor allem der große Erfolg unserer südamerikanischen Kampfgruppen (eigene Zeitung und regelmäßiger Kurzwellen-Rundfunk), besonders Repetitionen, hervorgehoben wurden.

Neben diesen vertraulichen Anweisungen fand die programmatische Proklamation der Schwarzen Front an das deutsche Volk zum 1. Jahrestag des Hiltersystems einhellige und begeisterte Aufnahme. (Text untenstehend!)

Zum Schluss beantwortete Dr. Otto Strasser noch alle an ihn gerichteten Anfragen der einzelnen Delegierten, wobei immer wieder auffiel, in welcher unverstehbarer Weise das deutsche Volk geglaubt abgepasst ist. (Beispielsweise fragten mehrere Delegierte, ob Gregor Strasser wirklich am 30. VI. 34 ermordet wurde oder ob es sich um ein „Cruelmärchen hunde!“)

Einen breiten Raum nahmen hierbei die Anfragen und Erörterungen über die Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Gegnern des Hiltersystems ein. Ausnahmslos betonten die Delegierten, dass jede Zusammenarbeit mit der KPD

abschleichen sei, unabhängig der örtlich oft recht guten Zusammenarbeit mit den kommunistischen Mitgliedern, die heute fast durchwegs national eingestellt seien und ihre Illusionen auf die Internationale ebenso gründlich verloren, wie ihre Machträume von einer Diktatur des Proletariats preisgegeben hätten. — Die Mitteilung der Führung, dass die Zusammenfassung aller sukzessiven Kräfte des deutschen Volkes, in der Linie Jugend-Wehrmacht-Arbeitergesellschaft (ansknüpft an die „Einheitsfront“ der grauen Front; Gregor Strasser-Schleicher-Leipart) das Ziel des Schwarzen Front sei und dass diesbezüglich Verhandlungen schweben, wurde mit größter Genugtuung aufgenommen. Hierzu konnten dann verschiedene Delegierte in Einzelunterredungen mit Otto Strasser erfreuliche Mitteilungen machen, die sich besonders auf Reichwehrgesellschaft und Stahlhelm bezogen.

Mit einem Gedanken an den vor Jahresfrist ermordeten Kgr. Formis und mit dem Schwur durch gesteigerten Kampf an der Befreiung unserer in den Zuchthäusern des Systems schmachtenden Freunde zu arbeiten, schloß der illegale (der 3. allgemeine) Reichskongress der Schwarzen Front mit einem Heil auf das kommende neue Deutschland der nationalen Freiheit, der sozialen Gerechtigkeit und der europäischen Zusammenarbeit.

## An das deutsche Volk!

Drei Jahre Hiltersystem liegen hinter uns. — 27 Jahre, um eine gerechte Welt zu ermöglichen.

Vier Jahre Zeit hat Hitler am 30. Januar 1933 von deutschen Volk gefordert, um seine Versprechungen „Freiheit und Brot“ zu erfüllen.

Drei Jahre dieser Frist sind inzwischen verstrichen. —

Nur sieht es mit der Freiheit des deutschen Volkes aus? Ausenpolitisch hat sich das Verhältnis der Umwelt zu Hitlerdeutschland von Jahr zu Jahr verschlechtert. Die große Hoffnung auf Italien mußte begraben werden; das angestrebte politische und finanzielle Bündnis mit England erwies sich in Straßburg als Illusion; unverändert kühl und misstrauisch blieb das Verhältnis zu Frankreich und der kleinen Entente, während die Freundschaft zu Polen trotz der Opferung Danzigs und des Korridors keinerlei Früchte trug;

vorhinschlief verschlechterten sich seit dem Mord an Paulus die Beziehungen zum österreichischen Bruder-

volk und die alte Bismarcktradition der deutsch-russischen Freundschaft machte einer aggressiven Feindschaft Platz, die unmittelbare Gefahren für unser deutsches Vaterland heraufbeschwören geeignet ist.

Innenpolitisch ist eine korrupte Fäulnis über das deutsche Volk aus, wirft zehntausende deutsche Volksgemeinen in die Zuchthäuser, Gefängnisse und Konzentrationslager des Systems, vergiftet durch Spitzelwesen, Denunzianten und erbarmungslosen Völkerverhetzung die gesamte Atmosphäre Deutschlands und züchtet so unangenehm ein Geschlecht von feigen Sklaven.

Kulturpolitisch bemittelt das System seine mangelnden Leistungen auf dem Gebiet der Schule, der Kultur und

Fortsetzung auf Seite 3

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**Mussolini in Not**

**Amerika gegen Hitler**

## Aufbau!

Gedanken für das neue Jahr

von  
**Dr. Otto Strasser**

Hitlers Sturz ist gewiss — wahrscheinlich noch im Laufe des Jahres 1936 —

„Vorher wird er Krieg machen — wahrscheinlich gegen bezw. um Österreich —“

Das waren eigentlich die Kernsätze der Mitteilungen aller Kampfgemeinen, die ich in der Weihnachts- und Neujahrzeit in der Schweiz, in Frankreich und Belgien gesprochen habe. Diese Überzeugung war umso auffälliger, als noch vor Monaten Besucher aus dem Reich die Kriegsfahrt völlig verneinten und dem Hiltersystem eine relative Stabilität zuschrieben.

Diesmal lautete das allgemeine Urteil so kurzfristig, dass ich Mühe hatte, den Gedanken zu entwickeln, ob nicht längere Abtaufzeiten vertauscht zu machen, bezüglich der Kriegslage konnte sich die Aussprache darauf beschränken, unsere eigene Haltung für diesen Fall festzulegen und zu begründen.

Die Einseitigkeit dieser Auffassung kann in ihrer psychologischen und politischen Bedeutung gar nicht überschätzt werden.

Um sie ganz zu würdigen, tut es not, die durchschnittliche Auffassung des deutschen Volkes und nicht zuletzt der Hiltersystem (der fast zwei Drittel der Straßburger Delegierten auch heute noch angehören) in den vergangenen 3 Jahren Hiltersystem kurz zu untersuchen. Ganz von selbst drängt sich dabei die zwei wesentlichen verschiedene Phasen auf, die durch den 30. Juni 1934 ebenso sichtbar wie folgenreicher geschieden sind: in der ersten Phase eine schrankenlose Begeisterung für das neue Regime, gestützt auf ein fast überdeutliches Vertrauen zu Adolf Hitler; in der zweiten Phase zunehmender Zweifel, Mismut und Unzufriedenheit mit dem „System“, in das allmählich auch der Führer einbezogen wurde.

Stand am Ende der ersten Phase sinnig, der Mord der Bartholomäusnacht, steht am — nahen — Ende der zweiten Phase ebenso sinnig der Krieg! — Während aber der Bartholomäusnacht die Geneser noch völlig unvorbereitet traf, sind heute Instinkt und Überlegung schon auf einen kriegerischen Abschluss des Hiltersystems vorbereitet, was das stärkste Zeichen der fortgeschrittenen Entwicklung ist und der politischen Arbeit ganz neue Möglichkeiten und Aufgaben eröffnet.

Kam es in der ersten Phase darauf an, einen Kader von der Ausrichtung durch den allgemeinen Wahn freizuhalten, so ergab sich die Aufgabe in der zweiten Phase ganz von selbst: Schürung der Unzufriedenheit, Erweckung und Bestätigung — freilich, kurz Propaganda gegen das Hiltersystem mit allen Mitteln. Die Schwarze Front darf für sich den Ruhm in Anspruch nehmen, dass sie in der Aufgabe in der ersten Phase glänzend gelöst hat; dank ihrer zirkulären und me-

OPPOSITION PAPER: This is a full-size reproduction of Nazi Germany's secret, uncensored newspaper. When folded for distribution, it is but little larger than a postage stamp.

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# OPPOSITION *in* GERMANY

BY GORDON REND

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ANY traveler returning to America after a visit to Germany invariably faces the question: "And what is the *real* situation in Germany? With all this propaganda, one never knows what is true."

Even a trained newspaperman or any other person who has spent considerable time among the Germans, is at best able to report only on such things as he has seen on the surface, or on some isolated items of deeper significance. That is when, as, and if, he has stumbled on them more or less accidentally.

If I have succeeded in learning a few of the less-known facts of German life today, it was due principally to my having been brought up in the Reich. And on my most recent visit there I spent my days like any native, for the most part with old friends who had no idea that I was engaged in American newspaper work. It was not my intention to deceive; yet it did help a lot when, upon renewing old school-day friendships, I did nothing to dispel the impression that I had spent the years since we parted in a small South German town.

It was not long before I met up with an opposition organization possessing no small following. I hesitate to call it great; yet thriving in a country which is generally supposed to have completely crushed any articulate dissension from the hundred-percent Nazi spirit, it must be counted as significant. That group, which may yet become the

—proving that people just can't agree — not even where there are agencies to coerce them—and that the other side will print its say, even if you need a magnifier to read it.

common meeting-ground of all elements dissatisfied with the National Socialist regime, is the League of Decent Germans.

My first contact with the League came in one of the South German former capitals. I was visiting a friend who, for a quarter of a century, has been one of the most efficient among high German police officials. Politically he had always belonged to the extreme right with strong leanings towards the Nazi Party. His loyalty to the Government was so well established that after Hitler's rise to power, he not only remained in office, but won promotion. This man, whom we shall call Privy Councillor X., was telling me about the growing unrest in the population and how much this was worrying the Government and party leaders.

"People are getting tired of paying those enormous taxes for armaments which are not needed for the defense of the country," he said. "They realize that he [meaning Hitler] is going to chase them into the hazard of a foolhardy war when our economic and financial crisis shall become intolerable. But worst of all is this damnable corruption and nepotism among party officials."

The subject was too dangerous for me as an outsider to make any comment. But presently the man added: "But, some day there will be an end to it. There is the League of Decent Germans. . . ."



"After all, the majority of the people are still decent. And we did not help those fellows to power so that all the young good-for-nothings in the party could grab themselves sinecures and graft. They want to play soldier, but we who were in the trenches want to be on good terms with all our neighbors. And this interference with the churches is worse than the Bolsheviks."

He spoke with such fervor that I knew he meant it. And was he not the same Mr. X. who, after the November revolution in 1918, had expounded his ideas on clean government during a friendly session at my father's house?

I asked him: "Yes, a League of Decent Germans, I suppose that is what we need?"

"Need?—Why, we have it, man!" was the immediate retort. "Are you fellows down there asleep?"

And so early in 1936 I learned about this heterogeneous group of men and women all over Germany who, I would hazard, are far stronger than all the other opposition put together. From that time on, I made it a point, wherever I went, to look for adherents of the League; I found them.

It is a strange outfit, this League of Decent Germans. Once or twice, an American correspondent stationed in Berlin has mentioned it casually in his dispatches; but nothing about it is really known outside of Germany—and, as a matter of fact, little within Germany. It is difficult to call it an organization, for despite its growing strength, there is no physical evidence of its existence. Its very functioning is outwardly only a matter of hearsay. It has no officers, no offices, no membership cards, no dues. And there is no fixed system by which those who direct it keep their followers informed.

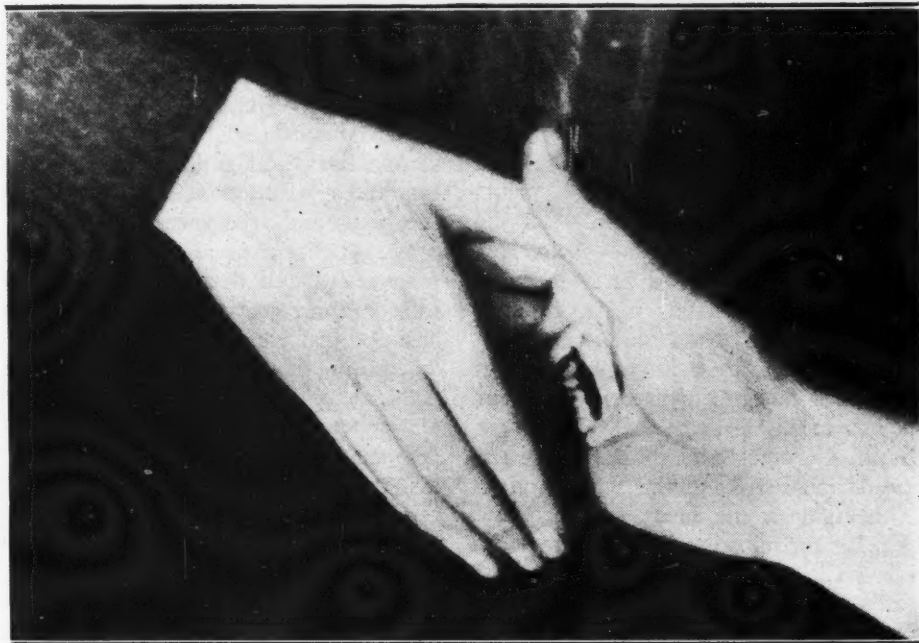
After I had left Germany I met in Luxemburg the man who is cred-

ited with being the guiding spirit of the League of Decent Germans. At one time back in the nineteen twenties it was he who had given the Nazi Party a solid economic underpinning. His belief in Hitler's sincerity had brought him into the National Socialist camp. With the weighty following he commanded among German industrialists, bankers, and business men, as well as in Army circles, his conversion was a milestone in the party's history. But he was one of the first big men to be disillusioned after a year of Nazi rule, and he left Germany quietly.

### *An Opposition Newspaper*

In spite of the frantic efforts of the *Gestapo*, the Secret Political Police, to suppress any seditious literature, the League of Decent Germans uses just that as the only means of visible activity. Once I had become acquainted with it, I found its leaflets practically everywhere. The day I visited Privy Councillor X., I saw the first. Only three days later in a town in Northern Baden, which thrives on the manufacture of cheap cigars, a Protestant minister with whom I had gone to school showed me the next. As soon as I had mentioned to him that I subscribed to the League's principles but that in the community where I lived we had no leaflets, he took me to the house of one of his parishioners where a bundle of one hundred was done up for me in a large cigar box.

The leaflets measure about five by eight inches. They are printed on thin paper and, as an accompanying illustration shows, are folded four times until they are about the size of a postage stamp. The type is tiny, and the average person needs a magnifying glass to read it. But small as it is, and despite its limitations, the leaflet might be called the only uncensored newspaper in Germany today.



**NEWSSTAND SALE**—or what you might call its equivalent—in Nazi Germany. Printed in agate type, or smaller, the only uncensored newspaper is secretly circulated. When folded, it is only slightly larger than a postage stamp and is easily concealed in the palm of the hand.

Each issue carries a score of news items about happenings in Germany and abroad which the Nazi censorship has kept quiet. Dated excerpts from editorials in the French, English, American, Scandinavian, and Swiss press follow. But far more important are editorial appeals which are written in plain language. They represent what the average politically interested German who does not belong to the Nazi Party really thinks.

"Reconstruction" is the slogan which runs through these editorials like a red thread in each issue. The following sentences are typical:

"Hitler's downfall is certain. It may happen as early as 1937. Before he falls he will embroil us in a war probably against—or rather on account of—Austria. . . ."

"Incipient doubts, dissatisfaction, and disgust with the system are rife

all over Germany. Little by little even the person of the Fuehrer is regarded with the same sentiments. . . ."

"The chief subject of our thought today must be: What is to come after Hitler? The answer is a government by the people. \* \* \* We specifically renounce dictatorship of any kind or by any party. \* \* \* It must be a government of men from every class."

"Any government after Hitler cannot simply continue where he left off. Such a reactionary course would be contrary to what the present *real* Germany wants. And it would most certainly be diametrically opposed to those enormous forces which at this very moment are preparing for the coming change."

The leaflets and "newspapers" which sporadically—yet with amazing persistence—show up all over Germany, have a much wider circulation than

the casual observer might be led to believe. I have seen a local issue of 20,000 at Karlsruhe. From what I observed in Stuttgart, Hanover, and Cologne each of these cities is the distribution center for at least as many. In Antwerp, the plant which prints most of the foreign supply of the League's pronouncements—about half of which are smuggled into Germany via Switzerland—runs off a hundred thousand copies each time.

And let there be no mistake about this: The League of Decent Germans is not locally isolated. I found it in South Germany and in Berlin, in the industrial district in the Ruhr, and in Thuringia in the heart of Germany. Among its followers I encountered former radicals who still within their four walls keep faith with the defunct socialist organizations. In Stuttgart, I spoke to an ultra-conservative Government official who supported it wholeheartedly. In Konstanz, a German railroad conductor who lives on Swiss territory in Kreuzlingen, told me that the League would some day liberate Germany. In Muelheim an der Ruhr, an executive of the Stinnes Steel firm avowed that "the League and the Army will some day take over things."

The program of the League appeals to all classes of Germans and since January has been featured in the League's leaflets. I quote it in its entirety:

"Fight against the Hitler system with every means. Fight for internal freedom and external freedom, for a German social state, for European collaboration.

"We must fight for:

"1. Dissolution of the Hitler party (analogous to the dissolution of all

other parties) and the establishment of an autonomous administration of the estates and professions as the basis of a true government by the people.

"2. Abolition of all concentration camps, liberation of all political prisoners, and restitution of the freedom of the press and free speech.

"3. Abolition of all individual German states and division of Germany into organically formed districts on the basis of historic, geographic, religious, and economic conditions.

"4. Abolition of the Ministry for Propaganda and abolition of all interference in religious and cultural life; instead we want a formal proclamation reiterating freedom of worship and conscience, but with complete separation of Church and State.

"5. Abolition of all compulsory employee, employers, professional and political associations of the Hitler system. Complete freedom to organize according to the natural conditions of the various groups of labor, commerce, industry, and professions.

"6. Abolition of the present German type of capitalism and nationalization of the German economic system.

"7. Cooperation of the nations of Europe on the basis of a federation, with full recognition of the national liberty and independence of all nations.

"These are the fundamentals for the future of Germany and Europe: National Liberty! Social Justice! European Collaboration!"

But the German people are more than cautious. It is not easy to contact the League. Yet, by all present indications, the world may one day hear a lot about it.

# CHANGING ACRES

The Resettlement Administrator meets his critics and acknowledges the obstacles before his program. Then he gives his reasons . . . .



BY REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

THE progress of America in agriculture has carried with it certain penalties. Increased farm production, brought about largely by scientific research, improved mechanization, and technological change, has jeopardized the security of the traditional family farm. It has placed the small capitalized farm at a disadvantage alongside of the more efficient chain farm and factory farm, and has intensified the competitive spirit among owner-managers. And with it has come the constant threat of foreclosure and huge increase in farm tenancy.

The problem is further aggravated by the psychology which we have retained from our pioneer traditions. Although we agree that we ought to pass on to future generations a land which is at least as good, if not better, than the one our fathers passed on to us, we have come to realize but slowly that our estate is dwindling—that approximately half of our original forest land has been destroyed; that billions of tons

of fertile soil have been blown or washed away; and that many millions of acres of our land have been depleted. It is axiomatic that poor land means poor people. Attempts to cultivate poor land constitute a drain on the economic well-being of the nation as a whole. In 1930, more than one million of our farm families received, on an average, a total income of less than \$400 a year each. And it was not \$400 in cash. It included the value of all products on the farm.

No American farmer can live with any sense of security upon unproductive land. He may manage to coerce enough out of his poor fields to keep his family from starving or going naked. But if he has to depend on outside assistance, or if he cannot pay his share of taxes to maintain the roads which carry his products to market, or to educate his children, then he cannot in any sense call himself a self-supporting, independent citizen.

When the Resettlement Administra-



tion was organized there were some 650,000 farm families in the United States in such straits. They were living on approximately one hundred million acres of land so infertile that not even agricultural experts could farm them at a profit. Their food was supplied to them by the Federal Government and their schools and roads were being maintained out of their neighbors' pockets.

Recognition of the indigent farmer and the impoverished land was forced upon the national consciousness by the depression and by recurring disasters of drought and flood. Yet the restoration of the submarginal American farmer to a position of relative security and self-support is an essential factor in the maintenance of American agricultural prosperity as a whole. So long as hundreds of thousands of farm families live in ignorance and destitution, they will continue to act as a drag upon the rural communities in which they live, just as city slums exert a downward pull upon the culture and moral standards of metropolitan centers. So long as millions of acres of submarginal farmland continue to be cultivated, producing crops under what are worse than "sweatshop" conditions of life and labor, the farmer of America's rich acres will continue to be bothered with a problem of surplus. "Unfair" agricultural competition can come not only from abroad, where living standards and costs are below the American average, but also from areas within our very borders, where, for lack of other opportunities, unprofitable farming is carried on to the accompaniment of steadily declining conditions of life.

During 1933 and 1934 various Federal agencies initiated attempts to help the suffering lower half of American agriculture. The Resettlement Administration was formed to take over and

coordinate into one program the efforts of them all. It was not an easy assignment suddenly to care for some three quarters of a million farm families who, in the spring of 1935, found themselves dependent upon outside support for a variety of different reasons. Nor was it an easy task to coordinate and revalue the half-completed efforts of existing agencies which were thrown together in the new organization.

### *Emergency Relief*

Analysis of the situation at once revealed two major aspects. One was the problem of temporary and emergency relief for the farm population of those areas where the drought had been most extreme and unprecedented, and for those farmers who, while farming good land, were laboring under impossible economic handicaps because of the collapse of prices and the storm of mortgage foreclosures during the depression. The second problem was a more basic one—a problem concerned with chronic rather than with temporary conditions and demanding a slow, long-term approach. It was the problem of maladjusted land use, the fruit of more than a century of unguided settlement and speculative exploitation of the soil.

To meet the immediate problem of the depressed farmers, the Resettlement Administration expanded a program of credit and technical help to provide them with both the money and the knowledge to improve their own conditions. Small loans, averaging about \$350 per farm, have been extended to help buy tools, equipment, machinery, livestock, and, in some cases, badly needed food and clothing. The farms were examined by agricultural experts, who then advised the farmers how best to improve their operations in order to realize the greatest

return from their land, not only in cash, but in real goods, including food and feed. Some 700,000 farm families have profited by this form of help, ranging from actual cash grants for the most destitute, to well-secured loans for the more fortunate families who incidentally are already paying off their obligations with satisfying regularity. Indications are that this form of relief is not only going to leave its clients in better homes and equipped with better knowledge of how to cope with their economic problems, but it is also going to be largely repaid to the Government in hard cash. Of the \$71,000,000 paid out in rehabilitation loans, \$11,000,000 has already been returned.

However, another handicap to the struggling farmer is overwhelming debt. Between 1910 and 1930 the mortgage debt on American farms increased from \$1,715 to \$3,561 per farm. With interest payments on old debts eating up his meager profits and with the threat of foreclosure hanging over his farm, even the farmer with productive land often found it impossible to make both ends meet. To save the farmer's home and protect the creditor's investment, the Resettlement Administration has set up its system of Farm Debt Adjustment committees. These committees are composed of local citizens who are appointed by the Governors of the various States and who serve without pay. They try to get debtor and creditor to come to an agreement, reducing the amount of the debt or extending the time in which it may be paid off. Since foreclosure often entails a loss to debtor as well as to creditor, both parties are usually glad to reach an amicable adjustment through the services of these committees, and during the past year they have secured reductions in the debts of 31,566 farmers. A total indebtedness of \$102,103,000 was reduced to \$76,241,000 and as a result of

this reduction more than \$1,887,000 was paid in taxes.

### *The Greater Problem*

The borderline dividing the emergency problem from the more basic and long-time one, is not absolute. Both those who suffered worst during the depression and drought, and those who have been in chronic poverty for a decade or more, find themselves in their present misfortune for similar reasons. The differences are frequently measurable only in the degree of misfortune. For example, the farmer who lost his work stock and capital in the depression because of rock bottom cotton prices, and yet has a piece of land capable of supporting him, is suffering from the same basic malady as the poor family stranded on a worn-out cotton patch that never again will produce a paying crop of any agricultural commodity.

While a farmer has land, he has hope. There is always a chance that with a loan and good luck he may be able to get on his feet again. But there are farmers in the West who, year after year, have seen their broad acres, burned with drought and swept by high winds, vanishing in the black, choking clouds of dust storms. In the East, on the hillsides of the Appalachians, farmers helplessly have watched the water from spring rains and melting snow wash and gully the fertile top soil from their fields. In the South, tenants and landowners have in many places sapped the irreplaceable vitality of the rich cotton-belt lands by years of unrelenting cash-crop cultivation. These farmers have lost their land. Not even an agricultural expert could make the barren farms they are trying to till yield a decent living. And in this country of limitless horizons there are more than half a million of these farmers "without land."

Such problems of land use are com-

mon, with local and regional variations, to the United States as a whole, because the entire nation was settled under the same method of trial and error, and under the same stimulus of speculative purchase. It was natural in the course of events that the American Continent should be settled in that manner. But the tragedy lies, not with our pioneer ancestors who cleared and settled the land in the only method they knew, but rather with us, their descendants, who have taken so long to recognize that conditions have changed. When our grandfathers lived, there was still free land to be had, and their mistakes in settlement could be quickly corrected while it remained available. Already in many of the older portions of the United States, agriculture has approached a satisfactory self-adjustment to modern conditions. But it could not have done so without the dual safety valves of free western land, and an increasing demand for industrial labor which facilitated the movement of population.

It was in our more recent past that the truly unforgivable mistakes were made. The settlement of most of the dry western lands which have yielded so large a portion of our agricultural distress took place during the 1920s with high wheat prices as impetus. It was during this century that the destruction of timber resources and the speculative sale of unproductive farms filled the denuded forests with stranded dependents upon public and private charity. It was not until 1934 that the Federal Government finally recognized its culpability, and replaced the outmoded homestead law, under which thousands of families yearly plotted their own disaster, with the Taylor Act which embodies a policy of reserving the remaining public domain for uses for which the land is fitted.

Today we are burdened with an un-

economic segment of our farm population which is incapable of self-support, and promises, unless something is done about it, to continue retarding the economic progress of the nation. The 100,000,000 acres of farmland which these families still occupy in fruitless endeavor, form a twilight zone which heretofore has had little or no recognition among Government land agencies. Without the financial resources, the skill, and the tillable land, the farmers have not been able to profit by the research and new technical development of the Department of Agriculture. As occupied lands, and classified as farms, these acres, for the most part, have been outside the sphere of activity of such agencies as the Forest Service, or the State conservation bodies.

As an initial program, the Resettlement Administration is undertaking 208 demonstration projects involving the purchase of more than 9,000,000 acres of this land. The aim is, first, to help bring the farm families now occupying these tracts into the realm of successful agriculture by aiding them to acquire better farms. Second, the Administration is restoring the land itself to productivity by converting the worn-out and idle fields into forests, recreation areas, grazing districts, and wild-life refuges. In the East, most of the purchased areas are being developed for a combination of purposes, including timber production, wild-life restoration, and public recreation. In the Great Plains and the dry areas of the inter-mountain plateaus, the lands for the most part are being rededicated to grazing use, with sufficient control to insure the permanent protection of the grass.

From a national viewpoint, the justification for this program lies not merely in alleviating the suffering and distress of several million people. The fact that the average net income of the fam-

ilies living on the lands selected for purchase by the Resettlement Administration amounted to \$84 for the year 1935, is significant of the desperate poverty in which these people live. But purchase of this land, and resettlement of the people now on it is further necessitated by the constant costs which the condition of these families inflicts upon both local and national government.

Farms on land that cannot productively be farmed only hinder the proper and worth-while use of the land. In the Appalachian Mountains, for example, the existence of numerous small farms scattered throughout mountains and coves makes it impossible to restore a forest crop, for which unified ownership is necessary. Numerous small cultivated fields, lasting frequently only three or four years before the soil is wasted by rapid erosion, stand in the way of a reforestation program. In a similar way, the dry land homesteads of the Western Plains, while exposing the land to wind erosion, prevent the unification of large enough areas of pasture to constitute economic cattle units.

### *Cost of Poor Land*

Numerous instances have been brought to light of the excessive costs which the occupancy of poor land has caused. An extreme example is a county in Northern Minnesota where 28 families, living on isolated and unproductive farms, required the county to spend an average of \$185 per family annually merely for the transportation of the children to and from school. At the same time these families paid an average tax of only \$10.80 per year. Similar conditions in the cutover forest region of the Great Lakes have brought many counties to the verge of bankruptcy. There is no sound solution to the problem unless a better method of land use is instituted.

Public relief is another element in the subsidies afforded the submarginal farm areas. In three counties in a Western Plains State it is reported that during the years 1930 to 1935 approximately \$7,000,000 was spent by public and private relief and rehabilitation agencies. Most of this money went into the hands of families living on dry farms which produced a crop only once in four years, or to the small communities dependent upon these farms. Insofar as this is true, the money cannot hope to be recovered, and the effect of the expenditures has been only to prolong the misery of the families for whom there is no hope of success.

### *Appraising the Program*

Resettlement itself has been greatly misunderstood and misinterpreted. It has been pictured as a kind of forced removal of families from familiar haunts and homes, whereas actually it is, of course, like the land purchase program with which it is connected, entirely voluntary. No family is forced to sell its home, nor is any family forced to accept the Government's resettlement plans. The Southern mountaineer, and the drought-stricken farmer of the West have alike been pictured as unwilling to leave their homes for new lands offered through governmental mediation. The fact of the matter is that more people press the Government for an opportunity to resettle than can be economically cared for.

The real hazards of resettlement have little to do with the unwillingness of anyone to cooperate in a plan. There are hazards, nevertheless, for in this phase of work the Government comes hard up against intangible aspects of human psychology. Frankly, there was no example of governmental land settlement completely successful in every way in the United States before 1933, and the projects launched in that year



have not yet proved their worth one way or the other. But there have been tremendously successful land settlement programs in other lands. The Irish Free State converted its farm population from one of tenants to one of landowners by a system of governmental resettlement. It can be done, and there is no reason under the sun why the American people, with their wealth of good land resources, cannot succeed if proper intelligence is applied to the task.

Recognizing these difficulties, and the unfavorable aspect which precedents have set for it, the Resettlement Administration has proceeded with the utmost caution in launching its resettlement projects. Each one has been carefully planned, and all factors checked, from the quality of its soil to the types of buildings. Moreover, each family is investigated to determine its abilities, and its evidences of being able to make a success out of its new opportunity. The RA is now initiating rural resettlement projects which involve new homes for 8,000 families, throughout the United States. It is a small program in relation to the national need, but its success will be measured in larger terms, for it will lay the basis for possible future action on a broader scale.

Resettlement takes different forms. In some cases it will mean merely locating separate good farms which the occupants of poor land may acquire with Government credit. In the other extreme, it means the subdividing of large tracts of land, and the erection of homes, farm buildings, and the commercial and public establishments necessary to a whole new community. The latter method makes possible certain economies in construction and utilities that are impossible in a more scattered type of settlement, while the closer grouping of families facilitates

the future development of cooperatives if such are desired. In many cases the new farm homes are located within short distances of the unproductive lands where the families have been living, particularly in the eastern portion of the United States where land conditions frequently vary more strikingly from one township to the next.

In any case, it is rare that the land purchase and resettlement program means anything like the evacuation or depopulation of a complete area. First, the land areas are rarely solidly good or solidly bad. Second, the new use of the land is usually associated with some form of human labor. Western grazing lands will create opportunities for stockmen who wish to lease the pasture through cooperative associations. Eastern forest lands will demand the seasonal labor of woodsmen, who can combine their forest work with part-time farming, as has been successfully demonstrated in the past. Recreation areas, established near larger centers of population, will also bring tourists and campers, to whose needs local people can cater. The possibilities for fullest use of the land is taken into account in all plans for resettlement, so that the necessity for families to move completely into new environments and to take up new types of farming is reduced to a minimum.

Varying local conditions, of soil, climate, and prevalent type of farming as well as varying abilities of resettlement families, dictate different details for each of the Resettlement projects. However, one factor common to all is that the money invested in them by the Government will be repaid. Most of the farms are to be amortized on a 40-year basis, at 3 percent interest. The recent passage of the Black-Bankhead Act authorizing the Resettlement Administration to make payments to local governments in lieu of taxes, gives assur-

ance that the resettlement farms will continue to assume their normal share of Government costs.

Every now and then a statement appears from some learned pen to the effect that the retirement of some million or more farms from cultivation would alone solve the American farm problem. The efforts of the Administration to promote a balance between agricultural demand and production are attacked as impractical approaches to the fundamental problem of adjusting population to land resources.

A simple thought, indeed, this idea to retire from use all the surplus acreage in poor farms. But there are powerful reasons why no such program can be accepted as having immediate practical value, however desirable it may be as an ultimate objective. No simple program of retiring a million farms from cultivation can serve as a remedy so long as the men and women who live on them have no better economic opportunities. We need, therefore, not a simple reduction in the area of cultivated lands, but an adjustment in the method of its use. Land resources, for the immediate future, must continue to support a greater number of people than would be necessary under conditions of rapid industrial expansion.

This adjustment of land and population in the United States requires more than a physical rearrangement of farms, forests, and cattle range. It demands above all the development of a new attitude towards land. In the past we have looked upon it as a subject of speculation, and income from land has been measured largely in terms of increased capital value. Conservation finds little room in this point of view,

and the consequences have been the uneconomic waste of forests, grasses, and soil which has by now become a familiar story. A new attitude is necessary in which permanence will replace speculation, conservation will replace waste, wise use will replace exploitation.

A simple example will serve to show how broad the need for education is. Annually there come into the hands of the various States, large areas of tax delinquent land which have proved worthless to their owners. In most cases, the first action taken by the State Governments is to return this land by sale to private ownership. No recognition is accorded the fact that the land has already gone out of private ownership for economic reasons, or that if placed in permanent public care, it might again be restored to public value. The development of more intelligent methods of handling tax delinquent lands is but one way in which the States could help attain a better adjustment of land and population. Rural zoning is another. The guidance of private settlement, and the supervision of credit facilities in the light of land classification are additional ones. In time they should replace Federal purchase as the most effective and economical way of correcting abuses. In the meantime, someone must take the lead, point out what the basis of our land problem is, and chart a course towards a permanently productive use of land in relation to the many aspects of human life with which the use of land is associated. The extent of the problem and its national character necessitate that this be a Federal undertaking. In that essential task the Resettlement Administration is playing a new and important part.

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**NORRIS DAM:** "A free people cannot permanently submit to the private monopoly of a necessity of life," Senator Norris often declared. The dam is one much-challenged expression of his sentiments.

The Government's hydroelectric  
plants, as brought into politics

## POWER *as an* ISSUE

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

DOCUMENT No. 127 of the American Liberty League recently declared: "Injurious effects upon private utility companies operating in the TVA area are indisputable \* \* \* The movement toward socialization of the electric power industry is an attack upon the American system of government. Its support comes from those who would abandon our institutions in favor of some form of collectivism. In the interest of the preservation of the American system the trend should be checked."

Swift to reply was Bob and Phil La Follette's Wisconsin *Progressive*: "The big private utilities hate the TVA because the TVA is showing them up in this business of electrification. It is providing a yardstick that is knocking the props out from under their old balleyhoo about the efficiency and efficacy of private ownership. It is bringing about a national realization that the benefits of electricity have been withheld from the people through the greed of the private power bosses."

Here is a relatively new issue on the American political horizon. With the possible exception of relief, the power question is the most recent problem to loom over the skyline of Presidential campaigning. The tariff, international relations, farm assistance, patronage,

and the money system are comparatively traditional—but not the hydroelectric issue. As a major controversy, it is only 15 years old.

This is scarcely the embryonic age in an era in which statesmen solve political riddles by reciting what George Washington or Thomas Jefferson had to say on the same problems a century and a half ago. Power first intruded forcibly into the national vision in 1921, when Henry Ford submitted his famous offer to buy the Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals, and George W. Norris of Nebraska took the floor of the Senate to protest against acceptance of Mr. Ford's proposal. But if this episode suckled the power issue, it is the New Deal which threatens to take the question out of the nursery and install it forever in the political playground. Until Mr. Roosevelt entered the White House, Senator Norris and his adherents were only a small bloc in Congress, annoying the private utilities but not necessarily alarming them. Merely a minority expression was the Senator's oft-repeated: "A free people cannot permanently submit to the private monopoly of a necessity of life." Now the Liberty League laments that this philosophy has been endorsed by the President of the United States. Document No. 127 of the League's an-



nouncements stated that Senator Norris's "activities and theories as the chief sponsor of the TVA have had the complete approval of the Roosevelt Administration."

The contention that the power advocacies of Senator Norris have been accepted at the White House epitomizes in some degree the sharp line of demarcation dividing opinion on the hydroelectric issue. The Senator from Nebraska is a positive character who has his cohorts and his adversaries, and accordingly, they view the New Deal's power program from two widely divergent perspectives. On no other question of the campaign is the difference of thought between those on the economic left and those on the economic right so clear-cut. The cleavage is as apparent as a mountain-range. Asset or Liability?

Mr. Roosevelt has received more hosannas from radicals because of his power theories than for all other New Deal acts combined. Political insurgents have applauded the hydroelectric plans in general, and the Tennessee Valley Authority in particular, as the best asset of his administration. Even Mr. Norman Thomas, who is carrying the Socialist standard in the Presidential race, has praised the TVA without reservation. In Congress the progressives in both parties—Nye, Maverick, Borah, Lemke, Costigan—have been as quick to support White House "must" legislation liquidating surplus utility holding companies as the conservatives—Glass, Snell, Steiwer, Tydings, Dieterich—have been to oppose it. So far as power control and development are concerned, the President has the backing of the left and the unmitigated opposition of the right. The Liberty League believes the TVA is socialism. Stuart Chase claims it is the Roosevelt régime's paramount achievement.

What is the New Deal power program which has so sharply split political and economic sentiment? What are its principal features, and what will be the consequences? To begin with, notice must be taken of the fact that no administration ever embarked upon a peace-time undertaking of similar magnitude. At various strategic sites throughout the nation, sixteen major dams are under construction. Preliminary work has been started on six others. The total investment in these projects will reach almost \$1,000,000,000. Horsepower of more than six million will be generated. Corollary developments in navigation, flood-control, reforestation, national defense, and irrigation also will take place. Here is an elaborate plan to remake the face of America: to divert rivers from the courses they have followed for centuries; to create artificial lakes; to transform swirling rapids into kilowatts of electric energy; to reinforce hillsides crumbling under soil erosion. It is a program with unquestionable dramatic appeal. As was pointed out in *CURRENT HISTORY'S Log of Major Currents* for June, this vast power system—particularly in the South and in the Far West—intrigues the popular imagination. It symbolizes to millions of Americans a modern argosy of steel and concrete on the frontiers where once the argonauts of another era wrote a saga of buckskin and long rifles.

### *Power Program in the South*

In the South must begin any analysis of Mr. Roosevelt's hydroelectric maneuvers. The keystone of the New Deal power arch is located in the basin of the Tennessee River system. This watershed cutting across seven States—Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Kentucky,

Virginia, Mississippi—is the site of the Federal Government's operation of an unprecedented experiment in regional planning: the Tennessee Valley Authority. Unique in the annals of the nation is the TVA. It represents a carefully-planned attempt to conserve, develop, and control the basic resources of 40,000 square miles of territory. In the heart of Dixie, more than 13,000 Government employees are working on a program which ultimately will see seven giant dams spanning the Tennessee River and its tributaries. Advocates of the TVA believe these projects will make "the more abundant life" become a vivid reality for the Valley's two and one half million inhabitants, three fourths of whom are either farmers or the residents of rural communities.

At present the TVA's only source of energy is the Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals, built to meet wartime demands. Under construction are the Norris, Wheeler, Pickwick Landing, Guntersville, and Chickamauga Dams. The Norris and Wheeler Dams—named after the Senate's most implacable foes of the private utility companies—will be completed this year. In 1937 work will be started on projects at Fowler Bend and Coles Bar. These dams will generate an ultimate capacity of 1,326,000 kilowatts of hydroelectric power. This is more than half the capacity of all the municipal utility plants in the nation combined. And yet it is not power which is listed as the primary purpose of the TVA. The major function of every dam in the Valley is recorded by the Federal Power Commission as some service other than the production of hydroelectric energy. Here is the crux of one of the principal controversies of the power question.

### *For Power or Navigation?*

Wilson Dam was built for national defense. Navigation and flood-control are set down as the paramount reasons for the construction of projects at Norris, Pickwick Landing, and the other sites. Private utility executives opposing the TVA claim this is an inexcusable subterfuge. They contend that power is not listed as the purpose of the dams, because the Supreme Court then would hold the TVA unconstitutional for taking away property without due process of law. The 8-to-1 decision early this year giving TVA the right to dispose of the surplus power at Wilson Dam was predicated on the fact that the dam's chief service is defense. In view of the Government's unquestioned right to improve navigation and prevent floods, this decision would seem to clear the way for the sale of power at every unit of the TVA. Yet Stuart Chase, one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the New Deal's hydroelectric program, has admitted that "navigation is probably the least important aspect \*\*\* of the well-being of the \*\*\* Valley."

Adversaries of the TVA charge that the production of power is the actual primary function of the Norris and Wheeler Dams. The Liberty League has declared that, behind the protecting camouflage of navigation and flood-control, the electric power industry is being "socialized." These groups have pointed out the assertedly ridiculous feature of listing Bonneville Dam—in the Cascade Mountains of Oregon—as principally a navigation enterprise. With the Supreme Court in its present temper, foes of Mr. Roosevelt's hydroelectric program believe the Government is afraid to list power as the chief purpose of the dams now under construction.



**BONNEVILLE:** Opposition forces say the Oregon project is designed to produce power in an area where it already abounds.

The answer to this line of attack has been a review of the progress made by the TVA. Senator James P. Pope of Idaho recently claimed that, because of "TVA service in the areas in which it operates, rates are from 50% to 60% of what they were before." He quoted the *New York Times* as reporting: "Throughout the turbulent conditions in the utility field, last year the Commonwealth and Southern group, the principal system affected by the TVA, sold \$15,000,000 worth of electrical appliances, a new high record." Congressman John E. Ran-

kin of Mississippi has charged: "A householder under the TVA rates pays \$8.90 for 1,000 kilowatt-hours a month, which formerly cost him \$66.10 under the power company rates in effect in the Muscle Shoals area at the time the TVA was created. [CURRENT HISTORY, May 1935.] The Commonwealth and Southern wants to destroy the TVA so that it can impose those outrageous rates again." David E. Lilienthal, director of the TVA, has pointed to the fact that there also have been benefits in improved agriculture, the prevention of floods and soil ero-

sion, as well as in a far wider home and farm use of electricity.

### *Western Program*

Almost a continent removed from the TVA, a similar controversy is pending. On the Columbia River, described by Army engineers as North America's potentially greatest source of hydroelectric power, the Government is constructing two dams destined to generate more energy than all seven units in the Tennessee Valley. These projects are the Grand Coulee Dam in eastern Washington, and the Bonneville Dam in western Oregon.

Approximately 300 miles of churning water separates the two undertakings. Bonneville is 150 miles above where the Columbia pours into the Pacific Ocean. Grand Coulee is an equal distance below the Canadian border.

When Mrs. Roosevelt looked on Grand Coulee in the summer of 1934, she exclaimed, "It was a good salesman who sold this to Franklin!" Statistics are generally uninteresting but they tell a remarkable story at Grand Coulee. The ultimate High Dam, to cost almost \$200,000,000, will be the most massive structure ever built by man. It will be four times the



GRAND COULEE: "It was a good salesman who sold this to Franklin!" Mrs. Roosevelt exclaimed.



length of the giant Boulder Dam on the Colorado River. Containing 10,000,000 cubic yards of concrete, it will surpass in bulk the great Pyramid of Egypt. Grand Coulee will tower 550 feet above bedrock; it will be 500 feet thick at the base and will measure 4,300 feet along the crest. The dam will create an artificial lake 151 miles long, extending as far north as Canada; it will irrigate 1,200,000 acres, now arid, but potentially rich and fertile.

In the Far West, as in Dixie, there are two sharply divided camps of opinion. Congressman Francis Culkin of the State of New York has described Grand Coulee as "a vast area of gloomy tablelands interspersed with deep gullies. The project has been condemned by the National Grange and other agricultural groups. \* \* \* In the region of the Grand Coulee there is no one to sell the power to except coyotes and jack-rabbits. Grand Coulee is that colossal imposition upon the American people." Philip H. Gadsden and other utility executives have charged that both Bonneville and Grand Coulee will produce large blocs of electric energy in a region which already has a "superabundance" of power. Gadsden also has bitterly attacked the suggestion of Senator Pope that Bonneville and Grand Coulee be administered by an authority similar to the TVA.

### *President Roosevelt Replies*

Let the President reply to these sorties: He believes the Columbia River basin, a vast area containing 13% of the nation's land and only 3% of the people, is a region of the future. He hopes to see Grand Coulee and Bonneville provide irrigation and power for millions of settlers from the crowded tenements and slums of the East. Standing at Grand Coulee two

years ago, Mr. Roosevelt declared: "You have acreage capable of supporting a much larger population than you now have. And we believe that by proceeding with these great projects it will not only develop \* \* \* the Far West and the Coast, but will also give an opportunity to many individuals and many families back in the older, settled parts of the nation to come out here and distribute some of the burdens which fall on them more heavily than they fall on the West."

The arguments, discussions, and claims applicable to the Tennessee Valley and the Columbia Basin are also relevant to the other New Deal dams. Boulder Dam, listed primarily as an irrigation project, will generate 1,317,500 kilowatt hours of electricity—more than any other single enterprise except Grand Coulee. The third most prolific producer of power will be Bonneville Dam, located where the Columbia foams through the Cascade Mountains and begins its last rush to tidewater. Ironically, the only Government dam listed by the Federal Power Commission as being principally a hydroelectric undertaking was the Passamaquoddy Bay project in Maine. It was recently abandoned as unsound and impractical.

The construction of dams is not the New Deal's only adventure in the power arena. The President recently signed the Norris-Rayburn bill providing for a rural electrification program which eventually will appropriate more than \$400,000,000 for transmission lines in rural areas. Funds from the Public Works Administration also have been loaned to finance publicly owned power plants and distribution systems. The legality of this procedure was upheld not long ago by Chief Justice Alfred A. Wheat of the District of Columbia Supreme Court. Another hydroelectric maneuver of the

Roosevelt Administration has been the attack on utility holding companies. In Congress the President's demand for the famous "death sentence" clause was defeated by rebellious conservative Democrats, but even in modified form the holding company bill has been the target of bitter court attacks by the private utilities. At present several suits are pending against it.

In his 1932 campaign for the Presidency, Mr. Roosevelt promised the country to launch Federal development of strategic power sites in the South and on the Columbia River. He declared: "We shall forever have a national yardstick to prevent extortion against the public and to encourage the wider use of that servant of the people—electricity." He still looks upon the dams at Bonneville, Norris, Boulder, Fort Peck, Montana, and other localities as "yardsticks" to determine a fair rate basis. He has assured the private companies that: "As a broad general rule, the development of utilities should remain, with certain exceptions, a function for private initiative and private capital." But the "with certain exceptions" reservation has made utility executives extremely jittery — especially when they see whispering into the President's ear such militant supporters of public ownership as Senators Norris, Wheeler, and La Follette.

Briefly summarized, the two sides of the New Deal's power program may thus be regarded:

**Attack:** A system designed for hydroelectric power has been camouflaged, to fool the courts, as a program of navigation, irrigation, and flood-control. If the Federal Government goes into the power

business, there is no limit to where it will stop; it may eventually use this privilege as the opening-wedge for state socialism. Citizens all over the nation are paying taxes to provide for public power experiments in a few chosen areas. Innocent investors face loss of their savings through a program which may ultimately bring about the collapse of all utility stocks.

**Defense:** The TVA has already increased the use of electricity and electrical appliances; it has sharply reduced rates for thousands of people. All the Federal dams enable the Government to conserve resources which rightfully belong to the nation as a whole. As a "yardstick", the TVA has already shown that the private companies were charging exorbitant rates.

Because it has increased the amount of power used, the TVA has helped rather than hurt the private utilities. The Federal dams have helped navigation, irrigation, and similar functions of the Government.

Here, then, is the power problem. It is an issue which will be before the American people for many generations to come. Its continued tenure as a major question is assured by the giant dams which stud the country's principal rivers. How these projects shall be administered, and what groups—public or private—shall distribute the power generated in their turbines, will be problems confronting Chief Executives long after Mr. Roosevelt has retired to private life. His policies may be changed, but the dams he has built are anchored to living granite and are as ageless as the Pyramids of Egypt.

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CONDUCTOR: "I wonder how long this Act will keep in step."

—Glasgow Evening Times

# AUSTRIA'S GAMBLE

—in which Austria makes her bed, while everybody, it seems, still hopes to sleep in it. All looks not so well, despite the Austro-German agreement...

BY  
EMIL LENGYEL

THE agreement which Germany and Austria concluded on July 11 has given cause to more speculation than any other post-war diplomatic document. In the agreement, Germany recognizes Austria's sovereignty, Austria recognizes the fact that she is a German state, and both governments undertake to refrain from interfering with each other's domestic policies. Austria's relations with the signatories of the Rome Protocols—Italy and Hungary—will not be affected.

The surprise caused by the agreement was all the more real because of Germany's unrelenting efforts to bring about the "union" of the two countries, which would have meant Austria's absorption in National Socialist Germany. The Third Reich is committed to this policy by Article No. 1 of the National Socialist Party: "We demand the union of all Germans in a Greater Germany according to the right of self-determination."

Hitler personally pledged himself to the union. In an opening paragraph of "Mein Kampf", which is accepted as the Nazi Bible, he wrote: "Austria must return to the great German motherland. Not for economic reasons, since even if it were economically harmful, it must take place. The Germans have no moral right to colonies as long as they are unable to include their own sons in a common state."

During the three and a half years of Hitler's rule, the Third Reich has pur-

sued this aim with marked singleness of purpose. It has financed and in every other way helped a powerful Nazi party in the neighbor's land. Austria became a German *Gau* (district), with headquarters in Linz. An Austrian Legion was set up in Germany and the Munich radio station became the center of Austrian Nazi propaganda. Nazi terrorists assassinated Chancellor Dollfuss of Austria because he was considered the strongest opponent of their policy.

What was the reason for the sudden change of policy indicated in the Austro-German agreement? Is it a diplomatic victory of the Austrians or of their backers, the Italians? Does it really mean a defeat of Hitler? Was he afraid that if he let matters take their course the Italians and Russians would find a common basis in a guarantee of Austria's independence? The answer to these questions implies a larger problem: What is Austria's position at the present moment?

## *The Real Agreement*

Although the agreement was signed by the Chancellors of Germany and Austria, the real signatories are Germany and Italy. It was primarily in their interest to patch up their quarrel over their neighbor, and Austria herself played a passive part. The sanctions caused grave damage to Italy, Mussolini's denials to the contrary not-



withstanding; and the Ethiopian job is far from finished. Italy needs a breath-ign spell, and she must have her back free. The negotiations leading to the agreement were originated in a conversation between Mussolini and Austrian Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg at Rocca del Caminate on June 5. From then until the signing of the agreement Il Duce was in constant touch with his Austrian spokesman.

Germany was ready to sign such an agreement in order to get out of a diplomatic *impasse* and to open the way to her new friends in the Danube valley and the Balkans: Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and perhaps also Rumania and Greece. Germany's Austrian policy had proved to be a fiasco. At the gates of Vienna she was confronted with the enmity of all Europe. Because of her, the Western Powers were forced to speed up their armaments, eclipsing all previous records. Besides, Germany is obsessed with the fear of being isolated. As long as Marshal Pilsudski was alive, the Nazis trusted the ten-year truce with Poland, but now, since his place was taken by General Edward Rydz-Smigly, known as pro-French, they are not so sure of their ground.

### *Agreement Only Temporary*

The agreement between Germany and Austria is obviously a temporary move. Hitler can no more give up Austria in the long run than he can give up National Socialism. International morality has fallen so low in Central Europe that such agreements are usually signed with the mental reservation of *rebus sic stantibus*—their validity is conditioned upon unchanged conditions. Hitler and Mussolini will observe the agreement only as long as it is in their own interests. What comes then? In order to find

the answer let us see the alignment of forces in Austria both from the international and domestic points of view.

Chancellor Hitler and Il Duce appear as the antagonists in Austria's diplomatic drama. Hitler has had two main reasons for wanting to make the southern neighbor a part of his realm: he is an Austrian himself, and the most important aim of his regime would be defeated if he failed in his dealings with Vienna.

If Hitler had been born on the opposite side of the river Inn—a few hundred feet from his actual place of birth—he would have been born a German citizen. But he was born on the Austrian side of the river, in the small town of Braunau. As a native Austrian he is in the unusual position of heading a super-nationalist Reich, of which he is not even a son. No wonder he has always been obsessed with the idea of bringing about the union of the two German-speaking countries. This would be in full accord with the Nazi *Weltanschauung*, philosophy of life, which recognizes no frontier lines separating Germans and places implicit trust in the uniting force of blood.

The Austrians favored this union until the Nazis began to bring it about in a heavy-footed way. The persecution of Catholics in the Reich did not endear the Nazis to many Austrian communicants, and nearly 95% of all inhabitants belong to the Roman church.

### *Italy's Stake in Austria*

Mussolini's interest in Austria is mainly strategic. Although the territory of the northern neighbor is small, it occupies an important position at the intersection of the great transcontinental highway along the Danube, which connects East with West, and the Amber Road, which connects the

Baltic Sea with the Mediterranean. The Italian dictator cannot afford to have this gateway closed, so as to bar his way for expansion. Mussolini is also apprehensive about the half million German inhabitants of South Tyrol, now part of Italy, who would be more attracted to a strong Reich than they are to a weak Austria.

Until the Ethiopian War, Mussolini was one of the "angels" of the fascist Home Guards of Austria. He sent them, not only arms and ammunition, but also money. He is Austria's Big Brother, who makes and breaks governments in Vienna. He was the guiding spirit behind the campaign against Socialists and Nazis, and, as we saw before, was behind the move for temporary reconciliation with the Reich. The result is that Austria has only a semblance of independence. In the words of irreverent Viennese, Austria is a corpse, prevented from collapsing by the crush of people around it.

In this crowd there are not only Germans and Italians, but also Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, French, and English. The Czechs fear that Hitler's occupation of Austria would forge an iron ring around them, while the Yugoslavs fear Mussolini's control of Austria. The French fear the Austro-German union more than any other change in the Danube valley, realizing that its consummation would mean that, in the end, it was they who lost the World War. The British want to maintain their traditional policy of the balance of power, which would be upset by a strong Reich.

### *Inside Austria*

Let us now see the alignment of forces in Austria herself. It seems to be a serious situation, in spite of the agreement with the Reich. On the one side there is the Government, which

would be very weak but for Mussolini's support, and, on the other side, there is a strong opposition, consisting of Socialists, Communists, and National Socialists. What keeps the weak government alive in the face of the strong opposition? Viennese will whisper into your ear, if they are courageous, that it is supported by bayonets and Italy. The Government calls itself corporative and Christian, but the opposition insists that it is neither. Its rule is based upon the so-called "May Constitution", promulgated on May 1, 1934, which is based upon an authoritarian executive and an emasculated legislature with merely consultative powers. The corporative principle is embodied in an intricate system of chambers, in which the major occupations are represented. So far, however, the chambers have been called upon merely to cheer some of the Government's more important decrees. As to the regime's being Christian, its opponents say that its wholesale slaughter of women and children in February, 1934, disqualifies it from the right to assume the name.

### *Fascists*

Until recently the main upholders of the regime were the Home Guards, which, in addition to Mussolini, were maintained by the local steel industry, particularly the mighty Alpine Montangesellschaft. Its former leader, Prince Starhemberg, and the Government itself also contributed to its upkeep. Although the Home Guards have been officially submerged in the militia of an all-inclusive organization, the *Vaterlaendische Front*, they are still a strong influence.

The Home Guards' constitution, known as the Korneuburg Program, is fascistic. It demands an authoritarian

state, from which the legislature is eliminated. It demands that Marxian Socialism be stamped out of public life. It demands more adequate help for the peasant and greater protection for Austrian agricultural products. It endorses some mild correctives of capitalistic excesses, without being very definite about them. While the Austrian fascists are not as anti-Semitic as the German Nazis, their insistence upon the Christian doctrine is seen as an indirect attack upon the Jews.

Until Chancellor Schuschnigg ousted Prince Starhemberg early this summer, the latter was thought to be Austria's strong man. But those who knew the young Prince, as a man of flesh and blood and not as a legend, also knew that he was far from being strong. The incorrigible habits of the Vienna cafes like to say that Starhemberg was a child prodigy—as intelligent at the age of four as he is now.

The Prince's temporary success was due to an overpowering obsession. He hated the Socialists, and when arraigning them, he almost became eloquent. But he lost his head and engaged in a conspiracy against the Government of which he was the Vice Chancellor. He wanted to become Austria's Regent Governor, and when Mussolini heard of this, he dropped his young friend. The Prince put up no resistance, thus confirming the view that he was not the strong man he had advertised himself to be.

The Fatherland Front, which has absorbed the Home Guards, has no definite program. It is a patriotic organization, consisting of a large number of incongruous elements. Its main financial supporters are the Vienna merchants—who fear both genuine Socialism and National Socialism—and the civil servants, who are forced to join it. It is honeycombed with mem-

bers of the opposition, who buy protection by paying the dues, or use it for their work to "bore from within."

### Socialists

The strongest opponents of the ruling regime are the Socialists and National Socialists. Before Austria went fascist some three years ago, it was the Socialists who formed the largest party in parliament. They had a strong majority in the legislature of Vienna, which had the status of a "State." The capital's Socialist administration was responsible for the most ambitious housing program ever executed on the Continent, having built low-rent, up-to-date apartment houses for a quarter of a million people.

The success of the Socialists at Vienna may have had a bad effect on dissatisfied Italians, so Mussolini decided to break the Austrian Socialists. For several days there was civil war in Austria, in which hundreds fell and thousands were wounded. When the fighting was over, the Socialist Party had ceased to be a legal movement. It exists now as a powerful underground activity, and it is estimated that about 100,000 of its members still pay dues. The circulation of the illegal Socialist *Arbeiterzeitung*, published in Czechoslovakia, is estimated at 70,000 copies, which is more than that of any legally printed paper.

The Socialists have still some arms in their possession, and they have the remnants of the formerly strong Defense Corps, "Schutzbund", which sometimes risks maneuvers in secluded spots of the Vienna Woods. Although strikes are outlawed in Austria, the Socialists called out the workers in the Sauer and Fiat automobile plants in March. Many Socialists have joined the National Socialists, not because they like Hitler but because they like

their own fascists even less, and they want to take revenge for the blood-bath of February 1934.

### *Nazis*

Unlike the Socialists, the Austrian Nazis had no representatives in the late parliament, and in less than four years they have grown from practically nothing into a powerful force. Unlike the Socialists, who favor democracy, the Nazis want a totalitarian state as part of the German Reich. In spite of their name, they are anti-Socialistic and, of course, strongly anti-Semitic.

The Nazis of Austria have had their ups and downs. About three years ago they seemed to be irresistible, particularly in Tyrol and Carinthia, where nationalist feeling runs highest. At that time I was told that more than half of the entire population was for Hitlerism. Austria was then securely District No. VIII of the Nazi Reich, commanded by Theo Habicht, a second lieutenant of Adolf Hitler. In those days evidence of Nazi work was seen everywhere. They burned the swastika sign on mountain peaks, carved it into the slopes of hills, exploded bombs, derailed trains, and assaulted their foes. They made fun of the Government. When they were forbidden to display the crooked cross, they donned top hats. When this was forbidden, they put cornflowers in their buttonholes, and when that was forbidden, they took to wearing white stockings.

In July 1934 all seemed to be set for a decisive move. A group of Nazis seized the Vienna broadcasting station and announced the fall of the Dollfuss Government. Another group took over the Chancellery, wounded the Chancellor, and let him bleed to death. But the Nazi call to arms was not followed by a mass rising, and the

Government took the Chancellery. Mussolini marched two divisions into the Dolomites, ready to resist Hitler's invasion of Austria, and the great powers warned Berlin to leave Vienna alone. Hitler was forced to recall the Austrian legion and the Munich broadcasting station was muzzled.

These events were followed by an anti-climax. The Austrian Nazis fell under a shadow and they adopted a new name: pronounced Germans. They became less aggressive, but their strength is still something to be reckoned with. They have penetrated high government offices, the universities, the judiciary, the police, and the national railway administration. From time to time a high official is tried for Nazi propaganda, but most of them enjoy immunity from persecution, since they are the ones who enforce the laws.

In recent months the Austrian Nazis have taken a new line of attack. Instead of demanding Austria's annexation by Germany, they demand a plebiscite to decide about the country's fate. For some time Chancellor Schuschnigg has been suspected of wanting to reach a compromise with the local Nazis by including a few of their less extreme representatives in the Government. This suspicion was aroused mainly by the tone of the Government-controlled Austrian press.

### *—And the Monarchists*

Meanwhile the Hapsburgs are waiting for their cue. It was thought at the time the two governments announced the July 11 agreement that it included a secret clause to the effect that the question of Hapsburg restoration would not be broached for three years. This has been denied both in Berlin and Vienna. The present Austrian Government is considered pro-Hapsburg. Nevertheless, Chan-



cellor Schuschnigg, who is a convinced royalist, declared the other day that the problem of restoration is not a timely subject at present.

More than a thousand Austrian villages have made Crown Prince Otto their honorary citizen. Otto wrote a letter in the middle of June to his Austrian representative, Baron von Wiesner, in which he again offered his services to his country in this hour of stress. In Vienna monarchist sentiment is strong, particularly among the merchants. Even some left-wing adherents hope that under a Hapsburg ruler, the fascist regime would be put out of commission. Archduchess Adelaide, a sister of Otto, was given great ovations wherever she went in Austria. Many Austrians seem to think that the most effective way to put an end of the Hitler-Mussolini tug-of-war would be to bring back the young Prince.

The great obstacle in the way of the Hapsburgs' return is the Little Entente — Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia—whose slogan is: "Otto means war!" Not that they hate the young man, but they fear his return to the Vienna Hofburg would be a signal for their own discontented national minorities to ask a return to the old fold. Looking back into the past, the Hapsburg rule may appear the golden age to them.

Only time can tell what the real effect of the Austro-German agreement has on the relations of the Central European countries. But one incontrovertible fact stands out: Austria is no longer "felix"—happy—as she was called for centuries. She is probably the least happy country in the Danube valley, harassed by friend and foe, an object of unceasing international rivalries, Europe's danger spot No. 1.



#### GERMANY WANTS COLONIES

John Bull: "Very good, sir. Two satellites of Jupiter are vacant."

—Nebelspalter, Zurich

# EYES *on* DANZIG

Since Herr Greiser thumbed his nose at the League, Europe has been wondering: Is Danzig the new center of Hitler's great ambitions?

BY W. WALTER CROTCH

THERE has been a great deal of talk of "indivisible peace", and rightly so. But peace is not the only indivisible quantity in world politics. The efforts of certain powers to interfere intolerably with those nations whose only ambition is to be left alone, are also indivisible. Between Addis Ababa and Danzig there is not only a straight line, but an intimate connection. It is a connection which springs from a spiritual kinship between Hitlerian Germany and Mussolinian Italy. In normal circumstances it would be naïve to divide the powers and parcel them out as "good boys and bad ones." But these are not normal circumstances; a desperate fight, sometimes open and sometimes concealed, is going on all over the civilized world, between the forces of liberty, democracy, and peace on the one side, and those of repression, fascism, and war on the other. This line of demarcation cuts athwart all other international divisions, and to a far-seeing observer, it has long been evident that it was only a question of time before Hitler and Mussolini, keenly as they personally dislike each other, would find themselves in close diplomatic association. The process by which this union of the two dictatorships has finally come about is not yet ended; the bloc may prove an alluring attraction for other fascist or semi-fascist states. Hungary and Austria are knocking at its doors, and Poland is likely to do likewise, unless the rising tide of democratic senti-

ment in Warsaw should succeed first in ridding the country of Colonel Beck and his friends. Let us take stock:

The lamentable weakness of the League of Nations; the eternal hesitations and vacillations, first of the French, then of the British; and finally the popular fear of war which dominates public opinion in every democratic country today, have encouraged aggressions the world over. Herr Hitler firmly believes that there will be no war, because he is convinced that the rest of the world, having accepted the *fait accompli* in the Rhineland, will also accept it on the Baltic, or wherever else it may please him to stage his next dramatic act. Mussolini feels encouraged to intrigue further, to prepare the way for new aggressions nearer home, because the world failed to arrest his attack upon a state, which, whatever its failings, was still a fellow member of the League. So the only question for a war-mongering dictator today is: "Where shall I precipitate the next move?"

Germany has two choices: Central or Northeastern Europe. She may try to reopen the way to the Balkans (the royal road to Bagdad, as it used to be called in 1914); or she may prefer to hammer her way eastward; to fulfill what Hitler has proclaimed to be the historic destiny of the German people: the "civilizing of the East." That the states, great or small, which lie east of Germany are perhaps in a much more advanced state of true civilization

today than Germany under the Hitler regime has little or nothing to do with the matter. Hitler prates of "civilization", but he really means "expansion." And in this connection one cannot be unmindful of the recent methods of his new-found colleague in an African campaign.

The rulers in Berlin hesitated a long time between southward or eastward expansion. Herren Ribbentrop and Rosenberg, Hitler and Neurath, had their conflicting views on the subject. What really settled the matter—if present indications are confirmed, and it *is* settled—was Signor Mussolini's success in Abyssinia. The blindest of would-be German diplomats could see that this gave Germany a chance to detach Italy from her old Allies. But to do it meant abandoning at least for the time being, the dream of southward expansion; and it meant concentrating upon eastward aggression. For Hitler himself, there is no doubt that this was a considerable disappointment. To postpone—for of course it would seem only a question of postponement—the accomplishment of his fond dream of returning in triumph to the country which is the land of his birth, and which has cast him out, must have been a bitter vexation, as indeed it would have been for a less ambitious man. The *Reichswehr*, however, backed with all its might the views of those who advocated a concentration on the eastern side. Although it is well known that among German Army leaders there has always been a strong section favorable to cooperation with Russia on purely military grounds, there was one consideration which tipped the balance in the minds of such men as General Fritsch and General Beck, head of the Operations Department of the German General Staff: while an Austrian adventure would render illusory all hope of Italian support and would

probably mean immediate war against practically the whole of Europe, Danzig or Lithuania might only entail hostilities against Soviet Russia.

### *Nazi Reasoning*

The reasoning was perhaps just a little too simple to be convincing to practiced and experienced diplomats, but then it must be remembered that soldiers are seldom good diplomats. The thought ran in this way: Neither Great Britain nor France have vital interests in the Baltic. Neither the French nor the English man-in-the-street can be expected to don a uniform and go to war because of Danzig and Lithuania. Poland, so long as Colonel Beck guides its foreign policy, can be handled. Czechoslovakia and the Little Entente are not in the least interested or concerned. True, there is the unequivocal declaration of Stalin, that Russia would not tolerate any disturbance of the *status quo* in the Baltic, but deprived of her basis for air-operations in Czechoslovakia and of the corridor for her armies which Rumania might place at her disposal, Russia either would not dare risk-war, or, if she did, would prove herself comparatively ineffective.

This reasoning leaves out of account Russia's pacts with France and with Czechoslovakia. But the sanctity of treaties, as all the world recognizes, is a vain term to Germany, and people generally are convinced that neither France nor Czechoslovakia would risk a war for the sake of the *status quo* in the Baltic. Of course, they may be wrong; the same gentlemen or their predecessors were wrong in 1914 when they were just as strongly persuaded that Great Britain would never go to war about Serbia.

But to pursue the German train of thought: a *fait accompli* in Danzig might be carried through without war

at all. If war should ensue, then it would be only with Russia and under conditions which would preclude that country from deploying her full strength, or anything like it. For Hitler, it would mean another cheap national triumph after the fashion of the Saar and the Rhineland. And the political effects of the Rhineland affair are wearing off fast; dissatisfaction at home is growing again by leaps and bounds; and while public attention is momentarily attracted by the Olympic Games, these will be over in a few weeks, and another *coup* will be due.

Conquest in Danzig, of all available dramatic gestures, appears to be the easiest and the one fraught with least dangers. Moreover, such a move can be easily, if speciously, defended upon ethical grounds. In the case of the Rhineland, many unthinking people abroad were attracted by the argument that a country must be master in its own house and that there is no justification for imposing restrictions on the fortifying of any part of national territory. Our own people subscribed blindly and widely to that doctrine. They either overlooked or were ignorant of the fact that France, an equally proud country, accepted without the slightest protest exactly the same kind of restriction, as far as Savoy was concerned, from 1862 until 1920, and apparently did not feel "dishonored" by it. In the same way, Dr. Joseph Goebbels could mobilize unthinking public opinion in many countries by pointing out that Danzig is overwhelmingly German and that its status as a "free" city is nonsense.

### ***Polish Demands***

We might ask, however, why Danzig was made a free city. The answer is that Poland demanded access to the sea, and no other harbor was available at that time. Among other points,

Poland claimed that while Germany's coastline was 1,140 percent longer than her own, Germany's population was only 90% larger and her area only 21% greater. The free access to the sea prescribed for Poland by President Wilson's Thirteenth Point was not an artificial creation, but one founded upon a solid and legitimate territorial link. Take a swift survey of the details. Poland had 88 coast miles, while Germany had 1,092; the population of the former was some 32 millions and that of the latter, double. But while Poland had 372,000 inhabitants per coast mile, Germany had only 59,000. Poland's claim seemed irresistible, and once it was ceded, her enterprise and energy speedily removed the disability. Gdynia, next door to Danzig, has been built up into an important harbor, providing facilities equal to any other port in the Baltic. The latest figures are not available at the moment, but four years ago, out of a 10,363,000 tonnage between Gdynia and Danzig, the former had almost half, the exact figure being Danzig, 5,467,000, and Gdynia, 4,896,000.

### ***Fears of Aggression***

Today the statistics are much more eloquently in Poland's favor. As a matter of fact, Poland no longer needs Danzig. Her special status there, at least, is no longer a matter of economic life and death. And since Germany has, in the Austrian question, shown a certain elasticity, there is nothing to prevent her from suggesting to the Poles that in a German Danzig they would be left to enjoy the principal privileges guaranteed by the League status.

Why, then, should anyone object to Germany taking possession once more of a city which, though it has a Polish minority, is, and always has been, predominantly German? Two reasons at



once suggest themselves. First, unless the danger of war is to remain permanently suspended over the world, neither Germany nor any other country can be allowed its own sweet will to revise a treaty to which several countries are parties. If after the rearmament and the Rhineland *faits accomplis*, Germany is allowed to get off scot free with a Danzig *fait accompli*—then there will be no bounds to her appetite and no limit to the possibilities of her aggression. Her plan of a *Mittel Europa* from the Baltic to the Adriatic, entirely under German domination, will receive a fresh impetus. After Danzig may come Lithuania. After Lithuania, the rest of the Baltic states. Or the colonies. Or Eupen Malmedy. And certainly, since the need for Italian cooperation by that time will have vanished, Austria would come next.

The second point is that Danzig is not of one mind. Indeed, it is far from being so. In the recent elections the National Socialists, despite a campaign of unprecedented terrorism, succeeded in securing only 48% of the electorate. Forty-two percent refused to bow to the Hitlerian Baal. They will have nothing to do with a Germany which, they feel, has reverted to the Middle Ages. They declared during the whirlwind campaign that they fundamentally distrusted the new spirit of German nationalism, which Sir Austen Chamberlain, in the House of Commons three years ago, designated as "the worst of the All-Prussian Imperialism, with an added savagery, a racial pride, an exclusiveness, which cannot allow to any fellow subject not of 'pure Nordic birth' equality of rights and citizenship within the nation to which he belongs." That the protestors have not lost ground since the elections, is evidenced by the fact that they are clamoring for a new vote in

which case they are confident they would obtain a majority. But Herr Foster, National-Socialist leader in Danzig, and Herr Greiser, President of the Danzig Senate, are of no mind to grant elections now, or at any other time. They are representatives of the Nazi regime. They have suppressed the opposition press; and they have abolished the constitution granted by the Treaty of Versailles. Danzigers are to be bullied and browbeaten into enthusiastic support of Hitlerian Germany!

### *Sean Lester's Troubles*

The League of Nations has a resident commissioner in Danzig—an Irishman, Mr. Sean Lester, whose moderation and common sense have impressed all those who have ever come in contact with him. Mr. Lester, considering that the rights of minorities stand under the protection of the League he represents, has, very properly, objected to these Hitlerian designs. He has stood up for at least the elementary rights of citizenship which the League status guarantees, and he has thereby incurred the undying enmity of Herr Greiser, Herr Foster, and the supreme war lord, Herr Hitler.

The attitude of the Danzig Nazi chiefs towards Mr. Lester was made possible only by the loss of prestige the League sustained by its failure to stop Mussolini's African aggression. The League is now accounted of no importance whatever, and has become a thing at which Herr Greiser inelegantly can put out his tongue, or indulge in other unseemly gestures, with impunity.

If that were all, the world might grin and bear it. Ill-bred children are a nuisance, but are not a public danger. However, these are obviously mere symptoms. The League's prestige is

at so low an ebb that nothing it might say, no threats it might utter, would prevent Herr Hitler and his merry men from marching into Danzig at any moment he chooses. He will probably prepare for it, in the words of his faithful lieutenant, "in secret and in darkness." Two questions arise: What will be Poland's attitude? And when will it all occur?

### **Hitler and Beck**

There can be little doubt concerning the first question. Ever since Colonel Beck was requested, as military attaché to France, to relieve that country of his presence within 24 hours, he has maintained close association with Germany. They are doubtless quite circumspect, but in diplomatic circles they give rise to a considerable amount of comment. His policy, especially since Pilsudski's disappearance from the scene, has amply shown his marked preference for German ideas. It is commonly believed that Poland has actually reached an understanding with Germany about the disputed Corridor, the ancient Polish province of the Pomorze, with its 4,552 square miles upon which Germany has for so long cast hungry eyes. She has undoubtedly done so in regard to Danzig, and the first step toward the realization of her dream of acquisition was taken when, under German influence, she permitted the Free City to be peacefully annexed.

How carefully Herr Hitler and Colonel Beck play into each others' hands is shown by the fact that Germany is proceeding by certain well-defined stages in this Danzig affair. First, there was the insolent Greiser interlude at Geneva. Then, the abolition of the Danzig Constitution to make complete assimilation of Danzig and Germany possible, without technically endangering Polish political rights.

Third will come open annexation, the entry of German troops into the city—the formal *coup d'état*.

It is not so easy to say when this last will happen. In Danzig itself, the view is held—by many, with hope, by many with fear and trembling—that the blow will fall during September. Indeed, so precarious is the situation that it may well have happened before these lines are actually printed. On the other hand, the Salzburg conference held between the leaders of the German and Austrian Nazis last May, would seem to indicate that matters will not proceed quite so quickly. Europe, it is said, is to be given a breathing space—because the Reichswehr is not exactly ready. Apart from the new arrangement which Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, has concluded with Herr Hitler with Mussolini's consent and direct approval (at what a price is still a matter of speculation), the Austrian Nazi leaders were told some few months ago at that conference by Herr Goering's spokesman that they would have to renounce all revolutionary activity for a time. Germany, it was announced, was about to concentrate upon eastern and north-eastern objectives. To this end, she must have her rear and her flanks secured. It was added that although the German Army would be fully prepared by 1937, a campaign against Soviet Russia would entail elaborate transport arrangements.

"A Soviet campaign," they were told, "is considered by our General Staff as a matter of transport mainly. To carry out these additional preparations, we shall need something like twelve months more."

That, of course, would mean 1938. The warning may be worth something. It may prove the pointer for which the whole world is anxiously looking. But if the move is still so far away, why

Herr Greiser's provocative and apelike performances in 1936? And why the ostentatious backing by Berlin? And why this cynical condonation of vulgarity without cause and this equally audacious contravention of Article 101 of the Versailles Treaty which insured the independence of the Free City of Danzig? Is it that Herr Hitler needs a new and spectacular political success every few months to keep the growing unrest of his own people in check? And does he believe that Danzig now

offers him an easy method of achieving it before his dramatic invasion of Czechoslovakia?

Whatever may be the cause, or the motive, it is certain that Danzig is the jumping-off ground for that further trespass on her neighbors' vineyards, upon which Germany's insatiable and covetous gaze is set. Some day, perchance, she will realize the truth of that old saying of Washington Irving, that every unholy desire bears death in its gratification.

### *Surprise from Hitler*

Once again a "surprise" from Hitler on the Jewish Sabbath. The "northeasterners" \* \* \* have apparently won against the "southeasterners", who wanted the expansionist drive to begin first towards the southeast.

There is no little irony in the fact that Goebbels was commanded to make the announcement of the provisional agreement over the radio. The Army, Schacht, Goering and the Balt, Rosenberg, all agreed against Goebbels that peaceful economic penetration of Austria was preferable to risking war at the moment.

Force can still be used later, they argued. The fact that Britain, France and probably Italy would not have resisted the use of force against Austria had no bearing on the case. The German Army commanders do not want to fight until they feel certain of victory. \* \* \*

There is another factor in the situation that has received too scant attention—von Papen. He is a Papal Chamberlain and a devout believer in the restoration of the Holy Roman Empire with a Germanic ruler, crowned in Rome by the Pope. Despite rebuffs \* \* \* he still has faith in Hitler as the great temporal unifier not only of the German people but of all that conglomerate which makes up Europe. The Church alone had its chance and lost it. Where faith helps this adventurous soul is in the belief that a Pope will be able to put a crown on the head of Hitler, or his successor. For Papen, therefore, an agreement with Italy is not only welcome but imperative.

*The Week*, London, July 15, 1936

# WORKERS IN THE SOVIET

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THOUSANDS FIND PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE OF GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISE IN THE SOVIET UNION, SOME AS INDIVIDUALS, OTHERS IN COOPERATIVES.

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BY JOSEPH H. BAIRD

THE lights in my Moscow apartment flickered a few times uncertainly, then left all in darkness. Candles were lighted and the house janitor was summoned. That worthy gentleman was eager enough to aid, but his knowledge of snow-shoveling being much superior to his acquaintance with watts, amperes, or even short-circuits, he presently gave up his attempts to find the trouble and the rest of the evening was spent by candle-light.

Next morning my secretary summoned Sergei Ivanovitch who, she said, had repaired her own lights quickly and efficiently. Yes, Sergei sent word, he would come to fix the foreigner's lights, but not until after 5 o'clock when his work in the factory was over. He came—a wizened, bearded little fellow in the cotton-padded coat, and black, visored cap so typical of Russian workmen. He set about his job in a knowing way, and soon the electric system was functioning again.

"How much do I owe you?" I asked the fellow.

He blinked, shifted his feet, scratched his head, and seemed generally uncertain. I, being new to the country, turned to my secretary for advice.

"Give him about ten rubles," she suggested.

I handed him the *chervonitz* note. He looked pleased enough and went out into the dusk.

A few days later my portable typewriter developed a bad case of jitters and finally refused to function. Again my secretary was asked for advice. She telephoned, and presently a business-like young man, Alexei Petrovitch, arrived at my bureau (my office, like that of all Moscow correspondents, was, because of the scarcity of space downtown, located in my apartment), and set to work on the balky machine.

The job required about two hours. When he was through I asked him for his fee, just as I had asked the old electrician the night before. There was no hesitation here. He took from his pocket a bill form, did some simple arithmetic, and presented me with a statement for 21 rubles. No quibbling; that was his price. After he had gone I turned to my Russian assistant and asked:

"Why was the old electrician who came last night so uncertain about his price while this business-like young man knew exactly how much he wanted?"

"That's simple," she replied. "Sergei Ivanovitch is an individual worker. Alexei Petrovitch is a 'co-op' man."

These incidents are related because they illustrate in a simple way the means by which a Soviet citizen gets done those necessary, technical, little jobs for which the vast industrial "five-year plans" have not provided. Perhaps eventually—for the Soviet Union is constantly in transition—there may be great State trusts for fixing lights



and mending typewriters, just like those which now exist for making locomotives and steel girders. But that day is not yet. Now not only services like those described, but also the manufacture of things like furniture, rugs, some shoes, *objets d'art*, and so on, are performed by an economic group working in the pale borderland between capitalism and socialism. Persons doing such tasks may belong to cooperatives, or *artels*, as they are generally called in Russia, or they may labor as individuals, making what money they can, and subject only to certain restrictions laid down by the State.

Of the two groups, those working in *artels* are the more numerous and important. Their number is increasing, while the individual workers, usually trained artisans before the Revolution, are becoming fewer day by day. The *artels* are by no means a new, post-revolutionary creation. For centuries, all over Europe, even in England, groups of workers in the same craft have banded to share their profits and market their products together. Usually they labored at home. It is estimated that in pre-revolutionary Russia, which, be it remembered, was about 80% agricultural, there were 5,250,000 members of such cooperatives. The modern Soviet *artels* differ from their prototypes only in their larger size and the fact that their members now usually work in shops instead of in their homes.

Looking at the *artel* structure from the Kremlin, that capstone of every Soviet economic organization, an observer would see something like this: Several million workers (the exact present number is not available, but in 1932 there were 2,353,000) fixing typewriters in Moscow, making shoes in Kiev, weaving rugs in Central Asia, or doing a hundred other things which

the Government considers necessary to supply goods or perform services for the people. In control of all, there sits in Moscow the All-Union Industrial Cooperative Council (*Vsekonomsoviet*). This Council, in consultation with the All-Union Central Executive Committee and the Council of Peoples' Commissars, determines the rules and policies of the cooperatives from the Polish border to the Pacific.

The organization has its branches in regions, districts, and so on down to the towns. To insure honesty in operation, it works hand in hand with the ubiquitous and dreaded Commission of Soviet Control, whose auditors and secret agents watch constantly to enforce honest and efficient administration.

That is the picture from the top. But perhaps the organization of Soviet *artels* and the purpose they serve can be better understood by viewing the structure from the bottom.

### *Fundamentals of the Artels*

Take the city of Kiev in the Ukraine. There, let us say, are fifty men who have been trained as electricians, either before the Revolution, or in one of the constantly increasing Soviet technical schools. For various reasons these men may prefer neither to ply their trades in Soviet factories nor to follow the haphazard path of the individualist. So they band together into an *artel* of electricians. (Parenthetically, it may be said that under Soviet law an *artel* must consist entirely of members of one craft. There could not, for instance, be a cooperative containing both electricians and plumbers, even though the nature of their work, save in its technicalities, is similar.)

The first business on the agenda of the newly-formed *artel* would be the selection of a board of directors. This

body, a sort of "steering committee", determines the policies and practices of the organization—always, of course, within limits established by the All-Union Industrial Cooperative Council. It is directly responsible to the general meeting of all the members. The Board, in turn, elects a manager.

This manager runs the shop. He employs men and may dismiss them, subject to certain safeguards to be discussed later. If the *artel* is a manufacturing one, he arranges for supplies of raw materials and for the sale of the furnished goods. If it is an *artel* providing services, such as one of repair men, he receives orders and assigns men to their respective jobs. He supervises the bookkeeping and banking. In short, he performs just about the same functions and has approximately the same authority as the general manager in a capitalistic factory or shop and, like him, is responsible to his board of directors.

Indeed, the parallel between a Soviet *artel* and a capitalistic shop may be carried further, for the board of directors is responsible to the *artel* members just as an American board is to its stockholders, which, indeed, the artisans are, for they share the profits of the organization. But there the parallel ceases to be exact, for each member has exactly the same amount of "stock" and participates equally in dividends—that is, equally in proportion to the work he does.

Whatever one may think of the Soviet Union's claim to political democracy—and there is ample room for debate—there is real democracy in the *artels*. And justice, too, so far as the human mind is capable of abstract justice. This is illustrated in the provisions for appeal by a workman whom the manager may discharge. If the dismissed artisan believes he has been unjustly treated, he may present his

case to the board of directors. If they reject his plea for reinstatement, he has even further recourse: he may appeal to a meeting of the whole *artel*. They may overrule the decision of the board.

### *Income and Taxation*

If there is what may be called an "aristocracy of Soviet labor", it is, of course, the laborers in State factories, mines, and other enterprises. They are the "heroes" of the new Government of Workers. Through their trade unions they are provided with rest homes where they may spend several weeks each year at a nominal cost, and they are also given medical attention when ill. For many years *artel* members did not enjoy these advantages. Moreover, they paid higher income taxes than the State employees and suffered other disadvantages.

Lately, however, the wide gap between the two classes shows evidence of being closed. Through their own organizations, the *artels* are providing rest homes and other benefits for workers. And by a decree issued in 1934, workers in *artels* had their tax rates reduced to the same level as those in State enterprises.

Present income taxes are shown by the following schedule:

Annual Income	Tax
1,000 to 2,000 rubles .....	1.5%
2,000 to 3,000 rubles .....	25 rubles and 3.5%
3,000 to 4,000 rubles .....	58 rubles and 3.7%
20,000 rubles and above .....	3,975 rubles and 38%

(It will be seen that while the State places no legal limit on the amount of money an *artel* worker may earn, income taxes rise so sharply as to become virtually confiscatory in the highest brackets.)

The State has shown every indication in recent months of regarding the *artels* as useful adjuncts of its own



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**CRAFTSMAN:** He used to do this work at home, but now he's in a cooperative.

industrial system and is aiding them in many ways. For instance, the All-Union Industrial Cooperative Council may supply an *artel* with raw materials on credit until it becomes firmly established financially. Extreme care is taken, however, to see that the *artels* do not speculate in supplies. They may buy only those materials needed for their finished product, and their stocks may not be resold at a profit.

### *Markets and Speculation*

Incidentally, speculation on commodities and trading in them between State trusts has been responsible for the exile of many officials who are now pondering their sins in the cold wilds of Siberia. The Soviet press recently published the story of an enterprising young Russian who developed an ingenious "racket" which kept him in

comparative luxury for many months until it was discovered by the secret police. He was one of those wire-pulling gentlemen who seem somehow to know everything and everybody. Did a plant in Moscow need glass badly, although having an oversupply of nails? Then this well informed fellow knew of a factory in Tula which had a large stock of glass, but was in dire need of nails. He would arrange a trade between the two institutions and reap a neat profit on both sides. At the time he was operating, food cards and various other credentials of privilege were of more value in Soviet Russia than money. So he usually took his pay in them. When arrested he had about a dozen food cards, or tickets to "closed stores" where prices were a fraction of those on the "Open Market", passes on Moscow and Leningrad tram lines, free tickets to many theaters, and cards for numerous clubs to which he did not belong. He later took a trip to Siberia. But to proceed:

Aside from assisting in the formation of cooperatives, the State, through its trusts, also provides them with a market for a large part of their products. For example, a trust selling shoes, if it does not manufacture enough in its own plants to supply the public demand, may contract with a number of shoemakers' *artels* to take their entire output. There is, even yet, a considerable shortage of consumption goods in Russia, though the output of such things as clothes and shoes is rapidly being increased under the second "five-year plan."

In summary, the *artel*, in the present stage of Soviet economic development, is being relied upon to supply the hundreds of goods and services which the State, so far, has not been able to arrange through its own institutions. It stands somewhere in the twilight

zone between capitalism (for its members make a profit) and socialism (for it is cooperatively owned and no man may exploit the labor of another). Whether it will exist indefinitely or give way to purely State institutions, it is difficult to say. At any rate, it appears for the moment to be giving little anxiety to the Marxist theorists in the Kremlin.

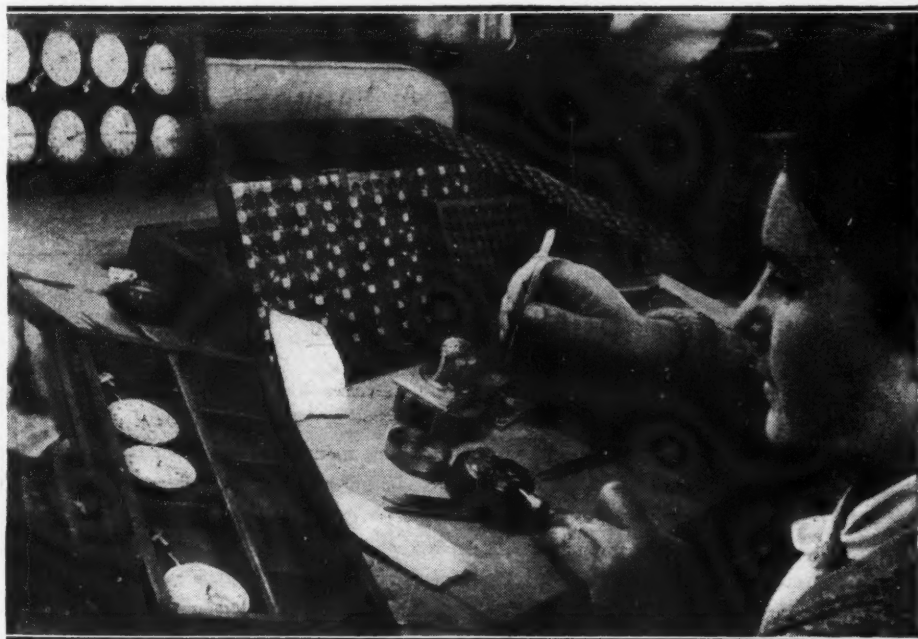
### *Individual Workers*

But what of the "individual" workers, colleagues of old Sergei Ivanovitch who came to fix the lights? How is their existence justified under a Marxist system? Where do they come from, what are their obligations to the State, and what of their future?

There is nothing in the Soviet legal code to prevent any citizen from plying his trade as an individual, but it happens that most young men and

women prefer to work for some State organization or, at least, to enter an *artel*. Most of the electricians, carpenters, tinkers, and tailors who work "on their own" around Soviet cities these days are remnants of the old regime, men who learned their trade before the Revolution.

They operate with virtually the same freedom as similar artisans in a capitalistic country. They are under the direction of no organization, they charge what they can get, and they work when they please—at least in theory. Their only obligation to the State is to pay an income tax if their earnings are within the first bracket or higher. However, they are not qualified for many of the advantages which other workers enjoy. For instance, they do not have the privileges of sanatoria and rest homes and they have no social insurance.



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**WATCHMAKER:** She earns a living on her own initiative, although the State absorbs some of her output.



Many of these workers, nevertheless, manage to enjoy the privileges of a State employee while still earning a good income on the side. For there is nothing to prevent an electrician from working his seven or eight hours a day in, say, the Stalin Automobile Plant, and then continuing privately for as many additional hours as he wishes on odd jobs around homes. Indeed, a large number of them do just that.

Until recently a connection with some State enterprise was almost essential for the individual worker. During the hard years between 1928 and 1933, food, clothing, and most necessities of life were strictly rationed. Prices for them on the "open market" were prohibitive, except for the relatively rich. Only organization workers could obtain admission cards to the so-called "closed stores", where prices often were a mere half or third of those on the "open market", where anyone might buy. Hence, unless a citizen had a card for the "closed" system, he found the cost of living un-

bearably high. That reason for a worker being connected with some organization was removed last year, however, when the card system was abolished. Now all stores are "open" and the prices of commodities are the same for everyone.

However, even though there is no legal or even economic ban on working as an individual, certain social and political forces are driving the Soviet citizen into State or cooperative labor. The man or woman who takes no active part in "building Socialism" is viewed as a "slacker." He has no opportunity to rise to a position of power either in the Government or in the Communist Party. Although the regime may not consider him a politically dangerous enemy, he is viewed by ardent Communists as a remnant of the capitalistic system. And so he is disappearing. He is a rather pathetic old figure, living in memories of the past. But in the present stage of Soviet economic development, he still serves useful, though minor, purpose.

### Truck Drivers' Income

We are now on the highway \* \* \* At full speed comes truck No. 6-78-65 owned by the Dnepropetrovsk Restaurant Trust. On the edge of the highway stands a group of people with bags, cases, and milk cans \* \* \* Two of the waiting people put out their hands and stretch out their fingers \* \* \* An outstretched hand means a tariff of five rubles for each person and baggage \* \* \* When [the truck driver] arrives in Dnepropetrovsk, he has about 20 people aboard. His income from each such trip reaches a nice sum of up to 100 rubles. The State Automobile Inspection Bureau sometimes fines a truck driver, when caught, 25 or 50 rubles. But the truck drivers \* \* \* find it easy to pay the insignificant fines. It is up to the District Attorney now.

*Pravda, Moscow (Courtesy of the Edwards Translation Bureau)*



BY WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

## JAPAN'S TRADE CHALLENGE

The facts, the figures, the system, and the problem of Nippon's thriving textile factories.

THE recent action of the United States Government in raising by forty-two percent the duty on Japanese textiles is only one of many counter-measures which have been taken all over the world against the amazing sweep of "Made-in-Japan" products. America's action, to be sure, was motivated more by fears for the future and by the supposedly depressing effect of even a small quantity of Japanese goods on the price level than by any large inflow of competing textiles. The imported Japanese textiles represented only about half of one percent of the American domestic production.

At the same time, the forward sweep of Japanese textiles on the markets of the world during recent years has been amazing. Osaka, rather than Manchester, has become the leading center of the textile export trade. For three successive years Japan has sold more cotton cloth abroad than any other country. The record exports of 1935 amounted to 2,715,000,000 square yards, as against the 1,946,000,000 square yards of Great Britain, Japan's chief competitor.

Still more spectacular has been the growth of the rayon industry, much of which is centered around historic and picturesque Lake Biwa, in the vicinity of the old capital, Kyoto. Japan's rayon output in 1927 was ten and a half million pounds, ranking below that of America, Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy. By 1935 Japan was

running the United States a close second in the race for rayon leadership, producing 224,000,000 pounds, as against America's 256,700,000.

Japan's successes in the export field have been especially striking in Asia and Africa, where the vast majority of people must have cheap manufactured goods or go without. During a recent visit to Osaka I found a number of price lists which indicated that in a world of free trade Japan would most probably achieve still greater triumphs in export trade than have actually fallen to her lot.

A hosiery company was selling yellow undershirts, destined for the Philippines, India, and Africa at 6.50 yen per dozen. This works out at about two dollars, as the yen is worth between twenty-nine and thirty cents. Sports shirts, made for Northern Europe, were 6.27 yen per dozen and wool shirts, for America, 14.50 yen per dozen. It is estimated that Japan is able to sell its textiles abroad at an average price of eighteen sen (a little over five cents) per square yard, as against thirty-four sen for British textiles. Japanese rayon goods have been selling in Australia as low as ninepence a yard, whereas British rayon costs about two shillings a yard.

### *Mills Have No Unions*

During my visit to Osaka, Kyoto, and a number of smaller towns in that part of Japan, I visited mills, talked

with industrialists, engineers, and commercial experts and tried to get a first-hand view of the causes which make it possible for Japan to undersell the world in such spectacular fashion in many lines of export trade, notably in textiles. It has often been said that the rapid growth of Japan's population may be attributed to the combination of an oriental birthrate with an occidental deathrate. The expansion of Japan's foreign trade may be set down, first of all, to an equally significant combination: an Eastern standard of living with a Western standard of industrial efficiency.

The visitor to one of the large Osaka spinning or weaving mills, or to one of the numerous silk filatures which are scattered through the smaller towns of the southwestern part of Japan's main island, is quick to recognize another factor which has strengthened Japan's competitive position in world trade. This is the successful adaptation of the traditional patriarchal Japanese family spirit to big industrial plants, employing thousands of operatives. There are no unions, not even company unions, in the Japanese textile mills. As a personnel manager in the Kanegafuchi works in Osaka remarked to me:

"We don't need any trade union. We are simply one large family, working for the good of the enterprise."

### *Working Conditions*

The absence of trade unions does not mean that the Japanese mill worker is deliberately exploited or poorly treated. On the contrary, the typical Japanese factory manager is proud, in many cases quite justly so, of the arrangements for health, recreation, and education which are provided in the plant. Both the Kanegafuchi and the Toyo mills, which I was able to inspect personally in

Osaka, were spick-and-span in outward appearance, with rows of trees planted on the factory grounds and a refreshing absence of the squalor that sometimes characterizes a poorly managed factory in other countries.

The dormitories in which the operatives live on the factory grounds would not have satisfied the needs of Western workers, with their almost complete absence of furniture and the futons or mattresses spread on the floor on which to sleep, but they were quite in line with Japanese living habits. It is safe to say that the peasant girl who goes to work in a large factory has more comfortable quarters and better food, provided in the company dining hall, than she would enjoy at home. Classes in a number of subjects, including the favored Japanese woman's art of flower arrangement, are held in free time. The Kanegafuchi mill, where there were more men workers, had excellent athletic equipment, a baseball field, tennis courts, and a swimming pool. The Toyo mill trained its girl workers not only in flower arrangement, but also in another well-known Japanese social grace—tea-ceremony.

All this speaks for the effort of Japanese factory paternalism to be benevolent, and there can be no question of the paternalistic nature of the system. The girls between the ages of fifteen and twenty-two who tend most of the looms and spindles are recruited from peasant families, as it is believed they will be stronger and more docile. The personnel manager in the Kanegafuchi mill told me that the city flapper type was not desired.

### *Hours and Wages*

Working hours in the larger Japanese mills have been gradually reduced to eight and a half. But the work is intensive, and in matters

where the trade union often exerts a limiting influence on the employer in other countries, in questions of wages, speed-up methods, and working conditions, the manager's word in Japan is law. The money wage paid in Japanese mills is very low, even if one makes a very liberal allowance for the cash value of the food and housing which are supplied free or at a nominal charge. It averages in the entire textile industry about seventy-five sen a day for women and girls and about 1.35 or 1.40 yen for men, who usually perform more skilled labor. Even if one reckons the food, lodging, free medical and dental treatment, and other things which are given free, or for a small charge of perhaps fifteen sen a day, as worth another seventy-five sen, the girl operative earns the equivalent of less than fifty cents for a day's work, which is quite as productive as that of a girl in a Lancashire or New England mill town.

So long as Japan's population continues to increase faster than new jobs or opportunities for migration are opened up, it seems inevitable that the prevailing wage level should be low. The textile mills can count on an inexhaustible reserve of girl workers who can be recruited from peasant homes where their extra earnings are a valuable aid to the family budget, put through a course of training as apprentices, and then set to work for several years at the spindle or the loom.

Ever since 1929 there has been a downward trend in wages in the Japanese textile industry, while at the same time there has been a growth in efficiency, in output per operative. More work can be done with fewer laborers. For instance, it took 56.2 male workers to operate 10,000 spindles in 1929. In 1935 only 22.5 operatives were needed for the same

number of spindles. In the case of women, the number required to tend 10,000 spindles declined from 206 to 160.2 during the same period. The number of male workers per hundred looms during the same time diminished from 12.5 to 5.8, and the number of women, from 50.2 to 37.5. At the same time the average daily wage for men workers in the cotton industry was reduced from 1.59 yen to 1.34 yen, while for women the decrease was from 1.14 yen to 73 sen. The daily wage expenditure per 10,000 spindles was reduced more than fifty percent, from 323.90 yen to 147.57 yen.

From the standpoint of social well-being, these figures, perhaps, offer no cause for rejoicing. They indicate that textile operatives are being obliged to do more work for less pay. They explain why the big annual gains in industrial production which Japan has been registering for several years have not absorbed more workers in industry. But the aid to the position of the Japanese exporter in relation to his foreign competitor is unmistakable, especially if one considers that the yen has depreciated in exchange value more than the pound or the dollar.

Salaries, as well as wages, are substantially lower in Japan than in Western Europe or America; so there is a saving in payments, not only to the laborer, but to the factory manager, the engineer, and the salesman.

A lower scale of wages and salaries, made possible by Japan's special traditions and habits in such matters as food, clothing, and housing, is an important cause, but by no means the sole cause of the country's spectacular advance in export trade. Many oriental countries have lower standards of living than Japan's without seriously invading foreign markets with their manufactured goods. An important point



to bear in mind is that Japan is far ahead of any Eastern land in industrial and engineering efficiency. Its factories, its railways, and its steamship lines function as smoothly as those of Western Europe or America. In many ways the organization of its textile industry compares favorably with that of Great Britain or the United States.

### *Industrial Advances*

The time has long passed when Japan was going to school, industrially, in foreign countries. In going through a Japanese textile mill one notices that the machinery of some twenty years vintage is of British or American make. But practically all the newer machines bear the stamp of Japanese firms. Japan is especially proud of its Toyoda automatic loom, thirty or forty of which can be operated by a single worker. True, these looms are used mostly in weaving the coarser kinds of cloth; but it is just these coarser and cheaper grades of cloth with which Japan is able to conquer the Asiatic markets, where she has the further advantage of geographical nearness.

Japan enjoys several advantages over England in regard to the structure of its textile industry. The units of operation are fewer and larger. The concentration of production in the cotton yarn-spinning industry is evident from the fact that more than sixty percent of the spindles are owned by ten large companies. Moreover, a Japanese cotton mill is usually engaged not only in spinning, but also in weaving and finishing, whereas a division of functions is much more common in England.

The weaker Japanese companies were more ruthlessly weeded out during the depression; the stronger ones set aside ample reserves, instead of paying out all their profits in dividends. Consequently the financial position of the Japanese textile industry is strong;

it is free from the heavy burden of debt and interest charges which clogs the progress of many of the British textile firms.

### *Cooperation*

While Japan's leading textile firms are keen competitors and guard their trade secrets jealously, they have demonstrated unusual capacity for joint action on behalf of common interests. The Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, which controls about 97% of the total number of spindles in the country, exercises supervisory functions over production, dealings in raw material, sales of manufactured articles, and employment. The existence of such a strong central body eases the working of the quota systems which have been applied to Japanese exports in many countries. The Cotton Spinners' Association endeavors to adjust production to consumption by sealing up a proportionate number of the spindles belonging to its member firms, so that supply will not outrun demand too far.

The Cotton Spinners' Association promotes the development of Japanese foreign trade by raising a special fund from a levy on the profits of its members for the purpose of subsidizing imports from countries which demand that Japan should take more of their goods if they are to admit more Japanese wares. While labor in the Japanese textile industry is unorganized, capital is highly organized; and one provision of the regulations of the Cotton Spinners' Association states that "no worker can be taken on, while he or she is in the service of another employer, without the permission of that employer."

The depreciation of the yen is sometimes regarded as a main factor in Japan's remarkable foreign trade expansion. The abandonment of the gold standard and the subsequent de-

cline in the exchange value of the currency unquestionably stimulated Japanese industry and trade, just as Great Britain's recovery from the low point of the depression may be dated from the severing of the pound's link with gold, while American production and profits began to rise after the devaluation of the dollar. But there are disadvantages as well as advantages for the Japanese textile industry in the depreciation of the yen. While finished products may be sold more cheaply in foreign markets, imported raw material (and Japan imports all its cotton, much the largest part of it from the United States and British India) becomes more expensive. The depreciation of the yen seems to have been rather a temporary stimulus than a permanent factor in promoting Japan's advance on foreign markets.

The permanent factors in Japan's foreign trade success would seem to be: the lower standard of living, with the consequent lower wage cost; the noteworthy progress of the country in science, invention, and applied mechanical skill; and the high degree of co-ordination in foreign trade methods. The far-reaching interests of such big combinations of capital as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Yasuda, and Sumitomo facilitate close cooperation among manufacturer, banker, exporter, and shipper. Japanese export goods are usually shipped in Japanese vessels and often retailed by Japanese merchants in the lands to which they are sent.

### ***Economic Barriers***

In a world governed by the free-trade Manchester economics of the last century, Japan would have gone much farther in foreign trade. But it is the bad fortune of the Island Empire that it has come of age industrially at a time when economic theory and, still more, economic practice, has drifted far away

from the ideals of Bright and Cobden. The advance of Japanese textiles has been increasingly slowed up, and this year seems likely to turn into a retreat as a result of a barrage of quota restrictions, discriminatory tariffs and other measures designed to curtail the inflow of cheap Japanese goods.

Last May, after negotiations looking to a voluntary restriction of Japanese textile imports had failed, President Roosevelt imposed an increase of forty-two percent in the tariff on Japanese cotton cloth. About the same time, Australia introduced a sharply increased rate of duty on non-British goods. Japanese exporters of rayon and cotton goods described these duties as prohibitive. As a reprisal the Japanese Government, invoking its Trade Protection Act, has instituted a regime of severe control of purchases from Australia, aiming at the complete elimination of Australian wheat and a maximum reduction in imports of Australian wool. The following items, taken at random from an instructive report which has just been issued by the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, show how sales of Japanese textiles are being checked in various parts of the world:

#### **EGYPT**

The Egyptian Government, on July 18, 1935, suddenly abrogated the Japan-Egypt trade convention and imposed an exchange indemnity *ad valorem* duty of forty percent on September 20.

#### **DUTCH EAST INDIES**

Since the failure of the Batavia trade conference, the Dutch East Indies Government has been issuing restrictive acts at intervals, making the importation of Japanese bleached, grey and cotton cloth and rayon textiles difficult.

#### **UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

As a result of frequent tariff increases on Japanese goods, exports of cotton cloth have declined considerably.

#### **GUATEMALA**

Guatemala raised its tariff on imports of Japanese cotton cloth by one hundred percent in February, 1935.

These are only a few typical examples of a world-wide movement. More than sixty markets have imposed special restrictions on Japanese goods; less than thirty remain open on equal terms. It is significant that, while Japanese textile exports to countries where no special restrictions exist increased by 17.2% in 1935 over 1934, the gain in countries with high tariffs and exchange control systems was only 2.4%. In lands with quota systems, the position was virtually stationary, with an increase of only 0.1%.

The two most familiar forms of restriction on Japanese goods are especially high tariffs (sometimes based on the principle of alleged compensation for Japan's depreciated currency), and quota systems. Japan is sometimes able to surmount very high tariff walls. But quotas represent an almost impassable barrier. The difference in price between cheap Japanese goods and more expensive competitive products may sometimes encourage smuggling; but it is only in North China, where Chinese administrative power is paralyzed, that this can greatly augment the flow of Japanese goods.

There are three main causes of the restrictions so generally applied to Japanese wares. First is the desire to protect domestic producers, as in the case of the recent American tariff increase. Superior economic obligations to another state constitute another cause; Australia, for instance, has much closer financial and economic ties with Great Britain than with Japan and considered it desirable to give British goods a certain degree of preference. Finally, many countries, especially in Central and Eastern Europe and in South America, have become involved in currency difficulties which they have endeavored to meet by imposing more or less stringent restrictions on the purchase of foreign exchange. Such coun-

tries are unwilling to buy from any foreign nation much more than they are able to sell to it; and, as Japan is often unable to absorb, for example, the special South American products, the advance of its goods in these lands is hampered.

The rising trade barriers all over the world have supplied a ready argument to advocates of nationalist economics in Japan, who contend that no market is safe unless it is under Japanese political control. It is, however, quite impossible for Japan to go over to a purely self-centered nationalist economy, because the Empire and the countries which it more or less directly controls, such as Manchukuo and North China, are lacking in too many essential commodities. The indications are that, without neglecting the possibilities of Manchukuo and North China, Japan will endeavor to defend its world trade by concluding semi-barter commercial agreements, wherever possible, and by inflicting reprisals.

It would seem to be a reasonable economic policy for America and for other countries which sense the challenge to balance the advantages of Japan as a customer against the disadvantages of that nation as a competitor. Under normal conditions Japan is a large and regular buyer of Australian wool and American cotton. It is deliberately planning to cut down its purchases of the former commodity, substituting, so far as possible, staple fiber and wool from other countries. American restrictions on Japanese imports may, in time, lead to a similar effort to find substitutes for American cotton; indeed Japanese agents have already been industriously exploring the cotton-growing possibilities of North China and Siam, Brazil, and Peru, although the United States and British India still supply about ninety percent of the cotton used in Japanese mills.

# BULGARIA

## STRUGGLES ON

King Boris  
guides his  
troubled ship  
in Europe's  
stormy waters

BY LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY

WHEN a traveler from the West reaches the Bulgarian frontier, he finds before him a valley formed by one of the tributaries of the Nishava river. Right at the bottom of it lies a small village named Calotina. The village was formerly a Roman settlement, and it was through this valley that the Roman road to Byzantium and Asia used to pass. At a later period, the Crusaders followed the same road on their way to Constantinople. Thus, at the very gate, so to speak, of Bulgaria one finds the past projecting itself into the present—a glorious past, but a melancholy present.

Bulgaria has been an independent state for little more than half a century, and for the first twenty-five years of that period she was still a vassal of Turkey. Nevertheless, in that short time, Bulgaria waged four wars, two of which were disastrous to her. The wars, prompted by the irresistible impulse of the Bulgarian nation to achieve national unity (such as was provided for by the famous Treaty of San Stefano in 1878), proved that she was over-ambitious, or rather, that she had an over-ambitious ruler in King Ferdinand, since the means at his disposal were far from adequate to achieve Bulgaria's national

aim. Today, Bulgaria has had her lesson, and is trying to forget.

### *Population*

In discriminating among the various elements making up the present population of Bulgaria, it is difficult to discover any adequate criterion of race. Neither language nor religion affords an infallible test, for undoubtedly much racial mingling has occurred. Bulgarians probably constitute about 75% of the inhabitants, and the purest type is to be found in the mountain districts, the Ottoman conquest and subsequent colonization having rendered the population of the plains more mixed. Nowhere does the Bulgarian, however, show a pronounced Slavonic type, except in some of the larger cities where a small Russian group had settled, while in the central Balkans, the Ugrian or Finnish cast of features occasionally asserts itself.

The Bulgarian is an excellent soldier like his neighbor and rival, the Serb. But today Bulgaria is essentially a pacific state, mostly, of course, by force of circumstance. The country is surrounded by potential enemies—Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey—all members of the Balkan Entente, and commanding a combined population of 50 million against Bul-



garia's 6 million. These powers are armed, and, moreover, continue to arm, whereas Bulgaria has an Army of only 26,000 men with no possibility of increasing it, first of all because she does not possess the money for armaments, and second because of the limitations imposed by the Treaty of Neuilly.

### Neighbors

At the close of the World War, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia lived like cat and dog, for Bulgaria resented the loss of Macedonia to Yugoslavia perhaps even more than the loss of Dobrudja to Rumania. When the situation became absolutely untenable, the late King Alexander of Yugoslavia and King Boris of Bulgaria took the matter into their own hands and, following two reciprocal personal visits, broke the ice, inaugurating a period of friendly manifestations on both sides. As a result of this royal initiative, both governments began to lift prohibitions and to stop persecutions, until then in effect.

Bulgaria's international relations were further improved by the suppression by the authoritarian government of the Macedonian Revolutionary Party in the country, which had come into power after the Army's *coup d'état* on May 19, 1934. This won particular favor in Yugoslavia and Greece, on whose territories the Macedonian irregulars, using Bulgaria as their base, committed innumerable outrages.

At first directed against the Turks, the activity of the Macedonian Revolutionary Party, organized before the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, is directed today against the Greeks and Yugoslavs, who received the major portions of Macedonia after the World War. The Macedonians continued to find support in Bulgaria, by which they profited to such an extent that they almost created a government of their own in Sofia and conducted their ac-

tivity of arson and murder, not only in Yugoslavia and Greece, thus endangering the international relations of Bulgaria, but also in Bulgaria itself. There they established a régime of terror directed against Bulgarian authorities when the latter refused to support the Macedonian movement. Political murder became the most common every-day event.

When the author visited Sofia recently, there took place a great gathering of gymnastic associations from the Slavic countries. Czechoslovaks, Poles, White Russians (emigrés) and Yugoslavs flocked to Sofia and fraternized with the Bulgarians who had come to their capital from all parts of the country. The Yugoslavs made it their business to see that a large number of their nationals were represented at this meeting and, indeed, nearly two thousand of them came to Sofia. King Boris, who has actually become an absolute monarch since the *coup d'état* and the abrogation of the constitution, made a special trip to Sofia from his summer residence on the coast of the Black Sea and was enthusiastically acclaimed by his subjects and the Yugoslavs alike. The latter's combined bands serenaded the Bulgarian sovereign on the palace grounds in the evening, thus adding a musical note to the manifestations of friendliness on the part of Yugoslavia for the sovereign of a country with which they had fought three wars. Time, the proverbial healer, and a spirit of goodwill had performed a near-miracle.

This rapprochement of Bulgaria with Yugoslavia, as well as with her other neighbors, including the traditional enemy, Turkey, seems to be the keynote in the foreign policy of the present Bulgarian Government, composed of non-political men and headed by Mr. Kiosseivanov, a former diplomat of distinction and a man of

unquestioned integrity. The Government formed last November, is the third since the *coup d'état* of 1934. Like the first two, it relies on the support of the Army, which, as a group or class, represents the flower of all-round educated Bulgaria, and has the confidence of the King.

### Government

The present Government of Bulgaria is striving to govern the country without parliament, yet without having recourse to prohibitive methods of dictatorship. It considers its task to be only temporary, in order to create a more adequate system of government. It is working on formation of a new constitution which would provide for a parliament of one chamber, but composed of three different types of deputies. These are:

- 1) Deputies elected by popular suffrage, but with restrictions as to their qualifications, mostly based on age and education. There are still many illiterates in Bulgaria, yet they all had a vote under the previous system and could send half-educated men into parliament.

- 2) Deputies elected by the professional corporations.

- 3) Deputies not elected but having a seat in parliament by right of office, like the presiding judge of the Supreme Court of Cassation (Bulgaria's supreme court), the president of the University of Sofia, the head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, and all former Prime Ministers.

The proposed Constitution foresees a great reduction in the number of deputies. Its authors consider that the greater the number of parliamentarians, the more unwieldy the body

becomes, and the less work it can produce. Formerly the *Sobranie* (parliament) contained 300 deputies, which was rather an exaggerated number for a population of six million. When the new constitution is ready, it will be submitted for popular approval, but how that popular approval will be obtained, whether by plebiscite or through a constituent assembly, it has not yet been decided.

### Education

Other reforms also occupy the Government. Most noteworthy of these, perhaps, is that of the public school system. Until 1835, when the first Bulgarian school was founded at Gabrovo, education was entirely in the hands of the Greek clergy. Greek was the language of instruction; and the bulk of the population was totally illiterate. The upper classes sent their children to be educated abroad. During the last three decades of Turkish rule, educational committees began to appear in various places; they contributed more than any other institution to the intellectual and moral awakening of the nation and the foundation of an independent Bulgarian Church. Owing to the important part they played in the national revival, these committees have become traditional institutions, which have been embodied in all further developments of the educational system. They exist in every town and village, and exercise general supervision over primary schools. Each district also has its educational council, under the presidency of the district prefect, which superintends the application of educational laws, controlled by the Minister of Public Instruction.

After Bulgaria was freed from Turkish domination, efforts were made by the Government at great expense to

spread education. Progress was striking. In 1888 only 11% of the population was literate; today the proportion is probably well over 60%, the illiterate minority being composed mainly of aged persons and women. However, the spread of learning unfortunately has engendered a distaste for agricultural and industrial pursuits and has enormously increased the number of candidates for Government positions. In its early years of independence, Bulgaria was rendered an invaluable service by the American institution of Robert College on the Bosphorus, which provides a number of well-educated young men fitted for positions of responsibility. The American school of Samokov in Bulgaria also has done much for the country.

Primary education today is obligatory for children between the ages of six and eleven. The schools are provided and maintained by the communes, but the teachers are paid by the State. The problem of reform is concerned primarily with secondary education. When visiting Sofia the author went to see General Radev, then Minister of Public Instruction, who explained in a few words the gist of the educational reform now in progress.

"The greatest educational problem we are facing in Bulgaria," he said, "is how to cope with the overproduction of semi-intellectuals, and at the same time how to eliminate the existence of a still greater number of illiterates. Until now everybody who had just learned how to read and write wanted to go to a high school. But the high school did not prepare the majority of its students for a useful and profitable career. A boy or a girl graduating from a high school does not know any trade or profession and is not prepared for an intellectual career, either. Therefore, most of them become an unproductive element in the

State—an embittered element at that—and either vegetate as small clerks in cities or, when returning to their villages, become local politicians. My plan is to limit the number of those people. For this purpose the Government has created a series of professional schools and has increased the number of primary schools. And we hope that in time our people will realize the advantages of possessing a profession or a trade in order to become a useful and productive element in the State."

This practical approach to the solution of educational problems is noted also in other fields of governmental endeavor. One can notice this new trend of a *realpolitik* in finance, in commerce, in foreign affairs. When the author went to see Mr. Kiosseivanov, who holds the portfolio of foreign affairs in addition to being Prime Minister, he found simplicity and understanding which he did not encounter in any other Balkan statesman. There is no doubt that Bulgaria is in a difficult position and that to be her Minister of Foreign Affairs one has to have, not only vision and determination, but also courage. First, there is the question of the Balkan Pact. When Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia signed that famous document guaranteeing mutual assistance for the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in the Balkans, Bulgaria's refusal to join was interpreted as a sign of her revisionism. It is true that Bulgaria wants her frontiers revised—but not by war. She relies on the possibility of a peaceful revision, according to the provisions of Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. She has manifested her peaceful intentions by offering to sign non-aggression pacts with her neighbors. The offer, however, was rejected. Under the present Government, Bulgaria does not chase

chimeras any more; she wants to live and let live.

### *Economics*

Looking into the economic status of Bulgaria, one finds the same ills common to all agricultural countries since the World War—a cheapness of agricultural products incommensurate with the high prices of manufactured goods. This results, of course, from the policy of many industrial countries to develop their agriculture under a protective system, thus closing the market for products from countries essentially agricultural. Faced with such discrimination against their products, agricultural countries in retaliation closed their frontiers to imports of manufactured goods, or raised a tariff barrier beyond reason. Thus an impasse was reached from which countries try to extricate themselves by tariff bargaining, quotas, and other artificial means. But all this cannot radically better the situation, because it does not touch the root of the evil: the desire of most European countries to become self-sufficient.

In Bulgaria we have the picture of an essentially agricultural country with 80% of the population living on the land, or from the land; with some natural resources (mostly undeveloped); with industry in its infancy; and with practically no great capital available for the exploitation of natural riches. We find this country struggling along for the sake of sheer existence, unable to break the barriers created after the World War and helpless in the face of selfish economic policies adopted by all countries. Yet there are very few people in Bulgaria today who go hungry, since there is practically no industrial proletariat, the industrial worker being employed in that capacity only during the winter when he cannot work on the farm. How-

ever, there are many, particularly among the peasants, who buy no manufactured products at all, who dress in homespun, who wear primitive home-made shoes, who live today as their forefathers lived, as though time has stopped for them and the progress of civilization has gone by without touching them.

But lately some improvement can be noticed in Bulgaria's economic situation. Due to a drastic regulation of imports undertaken by the authoritarian Government, Bulgaria had a favorable balance of trade in 1934 and 1935. At the same time, a policy of stringent economy has permitted the Government to balance its budget, and this for the first time during the last ten years. Thus a light of hope is perceivable.

To the question, How popular is the authoritarian Government?, the answer is twofold: The majority of thinking people with whom the author came into contact are quite satisfied with the present quasi-dictatorship, since it has brought about order and is endeavoring to save Bulgaria from economic and political chaos. As for the masses, they are still largely under the influence of their former political leaders who are obviously opposed to the present non-political Government. In Sofia, the author visited Professor Alexander Tsankov, leader of the Bulgarian National Socialist Party, which has nothing in common with the German Nazis except the name. Mr. Tsankov, former Prime Minister and ex-president of the University of Sofia, is opposed to the present Government mainly because it is unconstitutional. Although he became Prime Minister also after a *coup d'état* which ended the career and life of Stamboliysky in 1923, he has no sympathy with the present regime. As a wise man, however, he advocates patience.



Since all political parties are banned in Bulgaria, political activity is carried on today only through personal intercourse and secret channels. But there is no doubt that political struggle will be renewed as soon as the present Government presents its new constitution. Then one may expect great changes, and it is not at all unlikely that Professor Tsankov may once more become Prime Minister.

One should not omit to mention the role of King Boris. Even under the old constitution he was the unchecked

executive of the Bulgarian state. He conducted the foreign policy of his country without interference from the legislature, and he was master of the situation at all times as commander-in-chief of the Bulgarian Army. His popularity with the soldiers may be traced to his active service in the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and in the World War. And it is interesting to note that while Bulgaria was an ally of Germany in the last-named conflict, it was the only such ally against which the United States did not declare war.

*Bulgaria and the Straits*—The question of the fortification of the Dardanelles is one that most immediately concerns Bulgaria. In the given circumstances it is naturally of the greatest importance to Bulgaria that the Straits should remain in a demilitarized condition, with their freedom guaranteed. For Bulgaria has no door towards the open sea except the Dardanelles. Without them the Black Sea would be an inland sea and the economic disadvantages of that would, from Bulgaria's point of view, be incalculable. She has had experience of those disadvantages in the past, and for that reason her claim to a free passage to the Ægean Sea was acknowledged. \* \* \* Should the Turks get their way with the Dardanelles it will involve the fortification of Eastern Thrace, Bulgaria's immediate neighbor, where anyhow the work of extensive fortification has been going on. The attitude of the Turkish press reveals that the proposed measure is undoubtedly aimed against Bulgaria too. \* \* \* We know that Turkey has more than once had recourse to the expedient of closing the Straits. This is the very point that so often in the past accentuated the problem of the Near East. There is therefore every reason to fear that a fortification of the Dardanelles might re-open the problem, were Turkey to abandon her policy of peace. If despite this Bulgaria acquiesces in the fulfilment of the Turkish demands, the reasons are twofold. On the one hand she respects the sovereign rights of other States, she knows this is the first step towards a peaceful revision of the peace treaties. As a result of the latter Bulgaria expects the restoration of her equality of right and the guarantee of a corridor providing an outlet on the Ægean Sea.

*Danubian Review*, April, 1936.

A digest of comment quoted or translated from the original—

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# THEY SAY:

sometimes important . . . often amusing . . . always authentic

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**B**OTH Loyalists and rebels in Spain have been indulging in a vicious radio propaganda war.

The Madrid short wave radiocasting station worked at high temperature during the first days of the Spanish upheaval. A highly excited and emotional news commentator, specially designated by the Loyalist Government, broadcast reams of hot words about the great battle raging in Spain. But so eager was the Loyalist commentator to tell the world his side had the upper hand that fantastic claims poured into the "mike."

"Allo! Allo!" he would say, for instance. "This is Madrid! the voice of Spain! The Government wishes to announce that it has the situation well under control. The trouble is only around the miserable little group of Army officers and the legitimate government will have it all cleaned up in 24 hours."

The rebels, on the other hand, with their control over the Seville radiocasting station, have also shared in broadcasting "hot" news favorable to themselves. A few days after the uprising in Spain had begun, they suddenly announced that a provisional rebel government had been established in the whole country and that the struggle would soon end.

Spain's present Constitution is unworkable, harmful, and unadaptable to the needs and welfare of our country and therefore will be a constant invitation to civil war.

—Niceto Alcalá Zamora, ex-President of Spain, in a forthcoming book.

**Spain is in the midst of a civil war** whose scope has been completely underestimated by those who started it. Peace won't come when the fight ends. Human passions will carry on and keep alive the fires of hate. A new blaze may break out anew once more.

In wars between nations, when the fighting is finished, the participants lose all contact with

one another. But when a civil war ends, both victors and vanquished must live together still. Hatreds will continue long after a truce comes in this civil war of ours. \*\*\* All this has been caused by men who say they want to save Spain.

—Indalecio Prieto, Spanish Socialist leader, interviewed by *Informaciones*, Madrid, August 4, 1936.

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## "Corpses Piling Up. . ."

During these five years, our 30,000,000 brothers have become slaves, and have suffered all forms of brutalities at the hands of the invaders. Every day we hear of the shooting of Chinese; burying of Chinese alive; and arresting or detaining of Chinese. Every day, we see one village after another being reduced to ashes. Even districts near Harbin have met the same fate. In the winter of 1933, by air bombardments and by artillery and machine-gun fire, thousands of persons were killed on many successive days and nights with the corpses piling up in Sen Ku Hsu near Harbin.

In the winter of 1933, in the Eastern Hills, the invaders happened to see some Chinese wood-cutters, and said to them that "all these are bad fellows." Machine-guns were at once turned on them, causing about 70 deaths.

"In Harbin, Changchun (now capital of Manchukuo), Dairen, etc., whenever it was found that the prisons were too crowded with Chinese prisoners, the prisoners have been taken out, in batches one after another, and shot to death.

The account went on to say that in Harbin, Changchun, Fengtien (Mukden), etc., most of the Japanese own many ferocious dogs, who are trained to eat human corpses. It is alleged that not infrequently the invaders have fed their dogs with Chinese prisoners. The Japanese are quoted as having said, "To feed dogs with beef costs money, but to feed them with slaves costs

nothing." When the invaders want to construct railways or highways for military purposes they use any land at will without paying compensation of any kind to the owners of the land. Further, the invaders do not permit the farmers to plant kaoliang near or on either side of the railway line. They force the local people to organize the so-called "Protecting the Railway Village." In the event of any destruction to the railway, the people of the village are held responsible.

Every group of ten families has to guarantee the conduct of the others. In the event of one of them being suspected of anti-Japanese activities, the other nine families will be held responsible and will receive the same punishment.

—*The China Weekly Review*, Shanghai, June 20, 1936.



### Key to Peace

It has become a European truth that the Little Entente, working in close cooperation with the Balkan Pact, is the basis of consolidation, of balance, and of peace in Central Europe today.

I should like these words from Bucharest to be heard in all the capitals of Europe. The Little Entente holds the key to the vault of Central European structure and of the peace of Europe as a whole. It is a pillar without which the European edifice would crumble in the midst of a conflict whose consequences are incalculable.

—Edvard Benes, President of Czechoslovakia, at a dinner tendered by King Carol of Rumania, at Bucharest.

Czechoslovakia steadfastly supported the idea of Austria's independence, though knowing all the while that without the consent and cooperation of Germany it would be difficult of attainment. Therefore, Czechoslovakia always felt that any combination which sets Austria against Germany could not endure, because Austria could not withstand it. But it felt, at the same time, that some sort of an agreement among Germany, Austria, and the rest of Europe with regard to Austria's integrity was possible withal, and the present understanding is the first step on the road towards it.

Hence, Czechoslovakia views the new [Austro-German] agreement factually and calmly, and will let final judgment await the effects of its practical application. It assumes the realistic point of view, regarding things as they are.

It appears that Austria has obtained for herself valuable guarantees, and these should also be valid for Czechoslovakia. At the same time, it is appreciated full well that things may, in the course of development, take on an untoward direction, and consequently, that the situation in Central Europe will stand careful watching. A

*priori*, however, we wouldn't wish to mistrust and suspect in the agreement God-knows-what designs Germany may have upon Central Europe. \* \* \*

—Editorial, *Prager Presse*, Czechoslovakia, July 14, 1936.



### Paris: Pro and Con

Messrs. Blum and Delbos intend reforming, or rather reinforcing, the League. An excellent idea.

But because the pact has not worked is no reason to tear it up.

The League is not the only organ created by men that is imperfect. Decades were necessary to give our country a Constitution. Some time will be needed—maybe a lot—to give the universe one.

The essential is for France to persevere in the organization of what she has always wanted. "The word peace," said Romain Rolland, "has for so long adorned both tombstones and harvests." France must see that it adorns only harvests.

—*Petit Journal*, Paris.

Communism in France is not against private ownership of property or even industry; it is only opposed to capitalistic property, to big business and the trusts.

—Maurice Thorez, prominent French Communist leader, in a speech at Paris, July 17, 1936.

It is difficult to say that France is going to try a "Roosevelt experiment." We only follow from afar a model being moulded in a very different country from ours. What use have we for a "Roosevelt experiment" anyway? The program of the French Popular Front is sufficiently formulated to be applied. France does not need to copy either Leninism, Rooseveltism, or Fascism.

—*La République* (Radical-Socialist), Paris.

The Popular Government does not like the patriotic demonstrations of those demanding order and liberty. Those that carry the tricolor flag and sing the *Marseillaise* are treated as dangerous people. But citizens carrying the red flag and singing the *Internationale* receive from the public authorities more gracious attention. The parades shouting hate and indulging in threatening gestures are worth more, in the eyes of M. Blum, for the security and prosperity of France than the demands of those who want union in liberty, sing the national anthem, and display the emblems of patriotism.

—*Journal des Débats* (Rightist), Paris.

**Surprise!**

The political actions of the Third Realm are invariably conceived as though they were military actions. It acts with the greatest speed and resolution and always tries to take its opponents—who are themselves by no means fully aware that they are, amid all the amenities and courtesies of normal diplomatic intercourse, regarded as opponents—by surprise. That is one of the reasons why its major actions are carried out on Saturdays. The Third Realm is, above all, concerned to secure the fullest advantage of that surprise in Great Britain, for of all the Powers Great Britain is still the most feared and respected, though less so than formerly. The English week-end is a kind of shock-absorber, and the German calculation is that Great Britain will not react sharply on a Saturday afternoon, that she will remain passive on a Sunday, and that by Monday the Third Realm will have consolidated its newly occupied positions and can no longer be dislodged. Just as the Rhineland

was reoccupied on a Saturday, so the Danzig Nazis acted on a Saturday.

—*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, July 24, 1936.

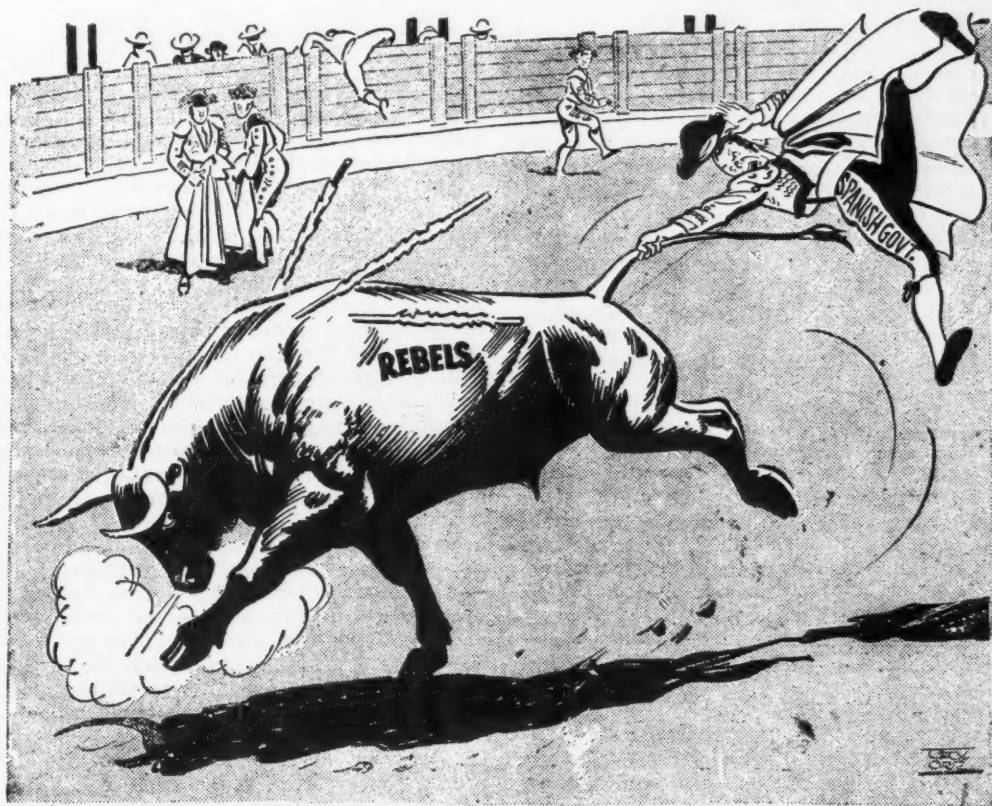
**Dear Enemy:**

"You are Captain Haig, the Australian? I am Ernst Udet. You have heard of me. Your squadron shot down my friend in the war, and behind the lines you gave him a good time. I will give you a good time."

That was the greeting received by Captain F. W. Haig, one of the best-known air personalities in Australia, when he landed by air-liner at Tempelhof drome, Berlin, on his recent world tour studying aviation.

Udet, a famous war ace, is very wealthy, and he took Haig to his luxurious Berlin flat that night, where a number of German flying officers were gathered to entertain him.

"The walls of this magnificent establishment were decorated with bullet-riddled and blood-stained pieces of some of the 78 British aircraft



"THE GOVERNMENT DOMINATES THE SITUATION."—Official statement from Spain.



which Udet shot down in the war," said Haig. "Yet no man could have been more hospitable to an ex-enemy."

—*The Herald*, Melbourne.



### Jew and Cossack

You live in a poisoned atmosphere. The captions in the daily papers seem like the heads of beast-of-prey, freshly out of the jungle. \* \* \* In such times as this, the story of the meeting of Cossacks and Jews, near Zlatopol in the Ukraine, acts like an anti-toxin against the poisoned atmosphere. \* \* \* The national and religious beasts had been frequent visitors in these steppes, from the days of Chmelnitzki down to the days of Petlurs. \* \* \* More than 500 pogroms took place in the Ukraine during the Civil War, \* \* \* the descendents of Mazeppa letting loose upon Jewish towns to rob, debauch, and rape. \* \* \*

Today there flourish in the same district several Jewish settlements, tens of towns and villages. There are cows in the pastures and there are tractors in the fields. And Cossacks, Mazeppa's own great grandchildren, are visiting these settlements, but only to greet them.

Who should step forward to welcome the Cossack delegation? Who but the septuagenarians Aaron Berdichev and Neche Lanievka, Jewish soil tillers. \* \* \*

"Sixteen years ago," recalls Aaron, "the mere rumor of approaching Cossacks was enough to frighten the life out of Jews. Today we are happy to greet them as brothers."

Neche Lanievka could say even more than that. Her father and brother were murdered by Machno brigands, Cossacks. Today she is presenting the head of the Cossack delegation with flowers. \* \* \*

—*Neue Volkszeitung*, Warsaw, July 11, 1936.



### Suicide Clinic

Inspired by constant press reports of suicides, single, double, and wholesale, the Japan Suicide Prevention Society opened for business on June 12 in the Education Hall at Hitotsubashi, Kanda Ward, under the direction of Mr. Ryunosuke Kobayashi, 43, of Araimachi, Nakano Ward, who is known as "the suicide specialist."

His office will be a clinic for the woes of persons who see death as the only way out, says the Chugai Shogyo. Mr. Kobayashi will give them advice on the basis of 20 years study of such problems. He plans shortly to call a meeting of educators and social workers to lecture on the prevention of suicide. The new society will also seek the establishment of proper institutions for the prevention of self-destruction,

sponsor investigations and publish literature on the subject and show motion pictures. A memorial service for young men and women who have committed shinju or love suicide together is planned for the bon festival on July 15.

Love entanglements, the desire to be united in death, illness, family trouble, debts, poverty and similar reasons annually lead to the suicide of 20,000 persons in Japan, it was stated.

*Trans-Pacific*, Tokyo, June 18, 1936.



### Our "Radical Pacificism"

I bring back the impression from my few days spent in America, where I conversed with many friends that have lived many years in the country, that public opinion is not, in principle, favorable to our African cause. This is due in part to Anglophile sentiments coming from the majority of those of Anglo-Saxon origin and partly to a radical pacifism whose character is purely American. People do not seem to have any precise idea of the demographic, economic, and social aims of Italy for colonial expansion that are, in reality, pacific, in spite of the opposition of Geneva.

—Professor Alessandro do Ghigi, Rector of University of Bologna, Italy, in press interview as reported in *Progresso Italo-Americano*, New York City, August 3, 1936.

We have roughly stated the case for the pacifist; but there is one weakness. What of the defensive war? Are you going to allow semi-insane dictators to over-run your country, the others will ask, while you stand huddled together like the lot of pacifist sheep that you are? Such a person surely exposes himself to the censure of being timid and cowardly to the point of placing self before country. This might appear as a deadly blow for the pacifist argument but for the all too prominent fact that, through centuries of practice, statesmen and financiers are now known to have become extremely adept at coining glamorous slogans with which to inveigle the masses into a new slaughter. For sober analysis and reflection have all too frequently revealed that such wars, conducted ostensibly in defence of one's own home and country and democracy and little nations, were in reality fought in defence of old markets or the acquiring of new ones. The last war, we need hardly add, is an egregious case in point. And what guarantee have we that mankind will not again capitulate to the Gadarene swine mentality when the pulpit, platform and Press are brought full blast into action? The pacifist has again recovered his position; but one point has at the least emerged, that if a defensive war is to be fought it must be a truly defensive one with no sham about it. Did not Mussolini once prove to his own satisfac-

tion that the invasion of Abyssinia resulted from the Abyssinian attack on the Italians at Wal Wal?

But the issue of defensive war does not by any manner of means exhaust the subject of pacifism. It is, above all, necessary to satisfy ourselves that everything has been done to prevent the possibility of war, defensive or otherwise. If we are to be treated to frequent and immoderate mustard poultices from the enemy aeroplanes, let us at least make certain that this "burning" question has been fully gone into by our diplomats and politicians, and that every conceivable step has been taken to avert the disaster. \* \* \* It is only the closest scrutiny of the actions of the old gang of diplomats by the people as a whole that can prevent such a disaster overtaking us.

—*South African Opinion*, June 26, 1936.

### Nazi Arithmetic

Taken from a German school-book:—

"A squadron of forty-six bombing aeroplanes throws bombs at a town of an enemy. Every aeroplane possesses 500 bombs weighing 1,500 kilograms each. Calculate the weight of all the bombs together. How many fires will the bombs cause if every third explodes and every twentieth causes a fire?"

"Bombing aeroplanes, flying during the day, go at a speed of 280 kilometres an hour. Night bombing aeroplanes can only fly at 240 kilometres an hour. How many hours will each class of bombing aeroplanes need to cover the area between Breslau and Prague, Munchen and Strassburg, Kiel and Metz?"

These two sums are taken at random from the new school-books. Children of ten use them.

—*The Observer*, London, July 5, 1936.

## Shaliapin's Eulogy of Gorky

They brought into my cabin, on the *Normandie* sailing from New York to Havre, the daily bulletin published aboard, and on its front page I beheld in bold type the words: "*Gorky est Mort*." I shall never be able to communicate the force with which that frightful news struck me.

I lay on my bed, my eyes closed and my mind conjuring up the human figure in dark jacket, with lively eyes and a magnificent crop of hair combed backwards, that was seated on a window-sill in the foyer of the Nijni-Novgorod theater. The young but already stooping man said to me: "I am happy to have made your acquaintance, Shaliapin; as I told you yesterday, you are one of us, genuinely so. \* \* \*"

Indeed, the evening before, after I got through performing in *Life for the Czar*, this very man entered my dressing-room, announced himself as Gorky, and, in the queer Nijni-Novgorod accent which never left him, said to me:

"How well you portray the Russian *moujik* [peasant]! And even though I am no admirer of the German style of acting, the way you cry at the mention of Susanin's children I like very much. \* \* \*"

Such was my first meeting with Gorky—the beginning of a life-long, deep and sincere friendship. \* \* \*

It is commonly believed that Gorky and I spent our childhood and youth in each other's company, that we labored together on the

Volga and that we even stood examination together at a choir rehearsal, with the result that Gorky was accepted into the choir, and I was rejected. \* \* \* That is not true. Once Gorky asked me who I was, and, while unfolding before him my biography, it transpired indeed that we were often enough rubbing elbows without being aware of it, and that our experiences, too, had been strikingly similar.

Thus, for example, while I worked as a shoe-maker's apprentice in the city of Kazan, Gorky worked in the same city in a bakery that was situated just around the corner. At the dawn of my seventeenth year, I traveled on a freight steamer heading for Nijni-Novgorod. Being absolutely without funds, I was obliged to do stevedore work en route along the Volga. It transpired that at that very time Alexai Maximovitch, too, was engaged as stevedore in the port of Samarsk.

As for the choir adventure, it is true that the two of us responded simultaneously to Serëbriakov's call "to come and fill his choir with young voices." They accepted Gorky but rejected me. But that was because Gorky was four years my senior, with a voice already formed, whereas mine was still cracking. \* \* \*

What sort of man, then, was Alexai Maximovitch?

I think that almost anyone wearing a black jacket will give the impression of physical well-being. However, only in a public bath-



**RATHER LATE TO MAKE THIS STATEMENT, EDEN:**

"What does the fellow want with me? I have told him that the League of Nations only helps those that help themselves."

—*Die Welt am Sonntag, Munich*

house will one give a clear account of himself. Gorky and I often visited the bathhouse in each other's company, and I observed that his back, while not exactly hunched, was shaped like a pair of wings. His chest was sunken and the veins of his legs were unusually large. Also, there were a multitude of scars all over his body, by then hardened and grown callous. I said to him once:

"Are you, brother of mine, suffering from your back that you strain your veins so?" In reply, he related to me a few incidents which I shall never forget.

"Eh, Feodor, my brother, it isn't so bad anymore. But see this?" He revealed a deep scar in the pit of his chest. "It is the result of playing foolhardy with an automatic pistol while despairing of life. . . ."

"How so, and why?"

"I could see no sense in life, with so much falsehood and heaviness about you. But when they moved me to the Kazan hospital for treatment, and my friends came to visit me, and one of them eyed me reproachfully and shook his head at me, saying, 'Eh, you, ficklehead, aspiring to become a writer yet,' would you believe, Feodor, that my desire to live then suddenly flared up in me and grew very strong, stronger even than it is today? Here is where I shot myself, and here are my broken ribs. . . ."

"What fine manners you have, then to shoot

yourself, and now to break your own ribs," I said jestingly.

"I didn't break my own ribs; others did that for me. Here is how: At one of the villages I chanced to pass I suddenly stumbled on the following scene: A woman, entirely nude and her hair disheveled, stood harnessed to a cart, in the place of a horse, while several *moujiks* sitting in it were lashing her furiously with their knouts. That was for being unfaithful to her husband. Nearby, in silent approval, stood the village priest.

"You can well imagine how the spectacle affected me. I ran to the scene and shouted, 'What is it you are doing, you—! Have you gone clear out of your heads?'

"The priest said to me: 'And who may you be, and what may your business here be?' I then turned loose upon the cleric. Well, it was in a ditch that I 'came to,' and that, I believe, thanks only to an accidental rain which sent its cold water to the ditch to revive me. With great difficulty, virtually creeping on my belly, I made my way to the village hospital, and these are the ribs for you. . . ."

I am sure that these scars and the deeds that produced them remained deeply and permanently embedded in the recesses of this man Gorky. The nude woman lacerated with knouts, the tortuous work along the Volga with its human groans, the homelessness, the despair of it all—not his despair alone but of millions of people like him—that was what engendered in him the doubt about the sense and rightness of living, that is what discharged the bullet into Gorky's chest!

Whatever else might be said of Alexai Maximovitch, this one thing I know deeply and firmly, without a trace of doubt: that all his thoughts and feelings and actions, all his achievements and failures, sprung from but one source—the Volga, that great Russian river, and the human groans it had caused. And if Gorky managed to forge ahead, impetuously and full of faith, it was because of the vision of a better future for the people that inspired him. Even when he strayed, perhaps, and got off the beaten path which others believed to be the right path, it was again solely at the behest of the people's goal he envisaged.

And when I hear it whispered about Gorky's rich life, at Capri or at Sorrento, or about his great wealth generally, it makes me feel ashamed of people. Certainly, I can tell, because I know it full well, that Gorky was one of those who are perennially penniless, despite their great earnings. It was not on himself that he spent. He has had no love for money, and wasn't even interested in possessing it. \* \* \* The truth is, he hasn't provided for

all on which he so generously and munificently spent.

—Feodor Shallapin's eulogy of Maxim Gorky; translated from the Russian *Poslednia Novosti*, Paris, July 10, 1936.



## Changing Trade Policies

The international trade the world will see in coming years will not exactly be that of pre-war times. Whether we like it or not, we must face the fact that national regulation of economic life within some countries is going to continue. Certain forms of regulation of international trade will, therefore, continue also. It is possible that some kind of international clearing institute to help make the necessary arrangements for three-cornered trade under such circumstances, would be useful. Of course, in a world of free trade "three-cornered" trade looks after itself. But if some countries continue a bilateral policy, other countries might combine certain import and export transactions and so be able to trade with those countries much more than would otherwise be possible. This implies a "three-cornered agreement" that might be arranged with the help of an international institute.

—Professor Bertil Ohlin, Stockholm, Sweden, in a paper read recently before the International Chamber of Commerce, Paris.

It is yet too early to form an opinion as to the results of the policy embodied in the six treaties made with European countries by the United States. They are certainly characterized by remarkable consistency. But American import duties have, in general, remained high, even after the reductions [provided for in the treaty]. The practical effects of the most-favored-nation clause have been deliberately limited \* \* \* The conclusion of these agreements is obviously a step in the right direction, but a still more decisive step forward will have to be made if any improvement worthy of that term is to be brought about in international trade.

Gustave L. Gérard, Secretary, Belgian National Committee, International Chamber of Commerce, in *World Trade*, Paris, for July-August.



## Nero Incarnate

Rafaël Trujillo Leonidas y Molina [a Negro] has held absolute power over his country [Santo Domingo] since 1930. His imperial ambitions are, therefore, not new. Don Rafaël showed this at the start of his career, when he declared blandly before both Legislative bodies of the island: "Don't see in me a Mark Antony, but a Julius Cæsar. I shall not talk,

but act. And know that I also incarnate Nero. I wouldn't hesitate to set fire to the island of Santo Domingo if necessary to remake it more beautiful, happier, and modern!"

—*De Telegraaf*, Amsterdam.



## Our "Braying Tenor"

Probably it is the manner rather than the subject matter of Father Coughlin's performances that ruffles many adherents of his faith. His thinking is anything but clear-cut; yet his addresses are delivered with an air of sanctimonious omniscience.

His voice, a fine braying tenor, has a great range of emotional expression. He can paint a heart-rending picture of the plight of the poor in accents which the crooner himself could not better. He can rise to heights of mellifluous eloquence; he can plumb the depths of melodramatic vituperation and denunciation \* \* \*

The stony-hearted bankers are the successors of the money-changers whom Christ drove from the Temple; the capitalists are the modern Pharisees; the opponents of inflation are "the wily servants of the murderous High Priests of capitalism."

Liberty bonds are "Bloody Bonds." The greenbacks, which, when Father Coughlin's cause triumphs, are to be "the servants, not the masters, of a friendly people," are "clean, crisp American money."

If the mouths of his listeners do not water as they listen to this kind of thing, that is not for want of any flights of imagination by Father Coughlin \* \* \*

—*The Herald*, Melbourne.



KAISER: "You have been standing here—an hour—with that child-like expression and have said nothing."

LORD GEORGE: "I was told to tell it to the Old Kaiser, but have forgotten what."

—*Il Travaso*, Rome





THE POLITICAL OPEN CHAMPIONSHIP

Stan: "Take your niblick. Keep your eye on the ball. Slow back and follow through."  
Anthony: "Quite! Where's the ball?"

—Glasgow Record

### Italian Hegemony

Italian political circles say the reconstruction of Europe must follow two main lines: collaboration of the big powers and reorganization of the Danubian basin. Italy must head this movement. The Austro-German pact was the signal for Italy's official reentry into the European concert. Italo-German friendship will form the basis of Italian policy. In case no agreement can be reached in Europe, the Italo-Austro-Hungarian-German bloc would be self-sufficient, at least politically.

—Reported by Rome correspondent of *Le Temps*, Paris, July 12, 1936.

Because of the vigilance necessary during the World War, France's Mediterranean policy took the line of close cooperation with England and Greece and antagonism to Italy. This situation, as a study of the problem shows now, is destined to undergo profound changes.

—Pietro Silva in *Rassegna di Politica Internazionale*, Milan, March, 1936.

### Bulgaria's Elections

The legislative elections to be held in Bulgaria next October will be absolutely free and conducted on the basis of the secret ballot.

A change of government will not alter Bulgaria's foreign policy which is: loyalty to the League of Nations, friendship with all neighboring countries and cordial relations with all other states.

—Premier Kousseivonov of Bulgaria to the foreign press in an interview on July 11, 1936.

### Rumanian Viewpoint

From a point of view of Rumanian foreign policy, the remilitarization of the Straits (Dardanelles) is favorable. The possibility of defending the Straits against any eventual attacks in the present international situation contributes materially to the security of the Balkan Peninsula and also to all countries bordering the Black Sea. "All that relates to Turkish secur-



"PLENTY TO EAT"

—*The Star*, London



WITH ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO A FAMOUS PEARLS SOAP ADVERTISEMENT

"HE WON'T BE HAPPY TILL HE GETS IT!"

—Glasgow Record

ity," said Mr. Titulescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, recently, "also touches Rumanian security, while all that relates to the Black Sea also interests our country to the highest degree, the Black Sea and the Dardanelles being Rumania's sole outlet to an open sea."

—Adevernal, Bucharest, June, 1936.

### Mission in Finland

According to the *Helsingin Sanomat*, 55 Japanese sportsmen, en route to the Berlin Olympiad, have stopped over at Helsingfors, Finland, and will remain there until the opening of the Olympiad.

A curious feature in connection with this is the special interest in Finland which Japan began to manifest of late and which expressed itself, among other things, in a recent visit to Finland by a group of Japanese high-ranking military officers. Likewise, it has become known that in the near future Japan will have a regular minister in Finland, with a staff of 20 people. Until now Japan was represented in Helsingfors by an attorney and a military attaché.

The establishment of a permanent consulate is especially interesting in view of the fact that the commercial turnover between Finland and Japan is nil, while according to available information, there are no Japanese in Finland whose interests might need the protection of such a mission.

—Cable from Helsingfors to *Izvestia*, U.S.S.R., July 3, 1936.

### "Deviations" in Russia

It is difficult, indeed, to follow the deviations \* \* \* that take place these days in the U.S.S.R.

—they are so numerous and so surprising! How long was it since the passion to destroy everything created by former Russia was held to be "proletarian valor"; how long since the life and history of the Russian people were deemed to have begun only with the "Great October"? But suddenly, Soviet pathos turns face about: "Not to destroy, but conserve the past; not to besmirch and antagonize, but to study it and be proud of it." \* \* \*

This is such a sharp turn that when we come across confirming evidences of it in the Soviet press, we somehow cannot believe that it is a Soviet paper we are holding in our hands. The language is so different and the psychology is so different. \* \* \*

Felix Kon, the Director of the Museum Department of the People's Commissariat of Education, has published an article in the strikingly non-proletarian title, *Preserve the Cultural Monuments and the Revolution*. "It often happens," says he, "that monuments are destroyed before the very eyes of the inhabitants, but no one protests." \* \* \*

This article of Felix Kon calls forth in the breast of every Russian a feeling of satisfaction and a sigh of relief: At last they bethought themselves!

—Editorial from *Poslednia Novosti*, organ of the Liberal Russian Emigré, Paris, July 1, 1936.

### For An American Bloc

The Americas not only produce raw materials, but include a solid bloc of 250 million consumers whose capacity to absorb manufactured goods is increasing. A great nation fully industrialized, and others partially so, now exist on our continents. It should be easy to link up their economic interests and establish an economic bloc outside of those nations which use the strangling process of economic isolation.

An American bloc is necessary to preserve order and keep political balance. Within an agreement for common defense, our continental aims and interests can develop securely towards the future thus giving an example of international collaboration that will repudiate armed force and such which threaten to obliterate the centuries of work accomplished by Christian civilization.

—President Vargas of Brazil in his annual message to the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, July, 1936.

The Buenos Aires [Pan American] Conference must establish the most efficient means to prevent war sparks among the American peoples and also to keep out those coming from the Old World.

—*Diario de la Marina*, Havana, July 19, 1936.

## God in Germany

\*\*\* The Evangelical conscience, that shares the responsibility for the people and the government, is most heavily burdened by the fact that there are still concentration camps in Germany, that describes itself as a country in which justice is administered, and that the measures and actions of the secret state police are exempt from any judicial control. Evangelical Christians faithful to their confession whose honor may be assailed are often not accorded the protection of their honor that is afforded to the other citizens \*\*\*

We beg the government of the Reich to consider whether it can be permanently beneficial to our people that the path hitherto taken shall be followed farther. The coercion of the consciences, the persecution of Evangelical conviction, the mutual spying and eavesdropping already exert a baleful influence.

Even a great cause, if it places itself in opposition to the revealed will of God, must finally bring the people to ruin. God's church will continue to exist, even if millions of Evangelical Christians sink under the endeavor to de-Christianize the German people. The German people have, however, not been given the promise that the poison of an anti-Christian

spirit shall not harm them, even if they realize only perhaps after a long time that they have been defrauded of their best inheritance by those who took Christ from them.

—From a signed memorandum to Hitler from ten leaders of the Confessional, or opposition, movement of the German Evangelical Church, as published recently in the New York *Herald Tribune*.

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## Russia's Children

It is estimated here that Russia's population within the next thirty-five years will have increased from 170,000,000 to the stupendous number of 500,000,000.

Last year, when the country's natural increase of population broke all records, reaching the figure of 4,500,000, the Kremlin refused to be worried. We must realize that this huge increase is the result of deliberate policy.

Up to now the Bolsheviks have mainly concentrated on industrialising a backward agrarian country in possession of tremendous natural resources. Now that they feel that this is on its way to fulfilment, they are looking ahead and are determined to tackle even greater tasks. The thought of "World Revolution," though relegated by them to the background in the course of the internal struggle to socialize and



G. van Renswoude.

THE NEW GERMAN GREETING AT GENEVA.

—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam



collectivize Russia, has by no means been forgotten.

—*The Observer*, London, May 10, 1936.



### Dress Rehearsal

A confidential circular has been issued by Herr Darre, the German Minister of Food and Agriculture, instructing the rural population how to behave during the period of the Olympic Games with a view to giving the world at large a favorable impression of Nazi Germany.

In a brief explanatory introduction the Minister states that "hundreds of thousands of foreigners" will be arriving for the Olympic Games. This "must make it our duty to display the German countryside and the German village to their very best advantage. Countless thousands of foreigners will drive through the German parishes, and it is absolutely necessary that they should return with the best possible impression of the German village and of German agriculture."

The Minister's actual instructions follow (the numbered paragraphs are in the original):—

1. Local officials are "held responsible for thoroughly clearing away the rubbish from all villages on the arterial and main roads, for cleaning the streets and footpaths, and for seeing that the villages as a whole make a favorable impression."

2. "Houses on the main roads are to be whitewashed as far as possible, or, if possible, to be freshly painted." The poorer inhabitants are to be enabled "by a collective effort on the part of the community" to "give their houses a pleasant aspect," which can be done "quite cheaply by painting them over in the simplest manner, which will not last very long but will fully serve the desired purpose" [the purpose, that is to say, of appearing neat and clean to foreign visitors as long as the Olympic Games are on].

3. "Front gardens and other plots are to be put in order and to be planted with summer flowers. The fences are to be painted, the signposts and signs to be overhauled."

4. "Gangs of farm laborers, mowers, etc., working in the fields must not spend their breakfast or lunch intervals or intervals of any kind on the edges of the roads from July 1 to September 15. . . . In districts where convict laborers are working on the land these laborers must not be employed near the roads. If this is

impossible then their work must be suspended altogether for the period in question. Political prisoners and inmates of concentration camps are in no circumstances to work on the land from July 1 to September 15."

5. The Minister refers to "precise instructions" given by the National Socialist party to the "population" with regard to its attitude towards foreign visitors, and adds that he, for his part, feels bound to supplement these instructions with similar orders of his own. It is desired, he writes, that "everybody shall display an amiable and accommodating manner to strangers, that everybody be ever ready to assist strangers, so that they may have the best possible impression of the German peasantry and countryside."

He adds: "It is necessary to make special mention of the fact that there may be Jews amongst the foreigners, for the German Government has given the International Olympic Committee a pledge to guarantee the protection of all Olympic guests. Possible Jews must therefore be treated just as politely as Aryan guests."

"In no case must Jewish 'provocateurs' get a chance of creating incidents which will add grist to the mills of hostile propagandists abroad. For this reason all illuminated signs—'Klebezettel' (gummed labels with anti-Semitic slogans)—must be removed during the period in question. The fundamental attitude of the German people towards Judaism remains unchanged."

The circular has been sent to members of the Reichsnährstand (Food Control Board), an organization that covers all rural Germany.

—*Manchester Guardian*, July 24, 1936.



### Japanese Emigrants

The first Japanese emigrants to Paraguay, a group of 80, sailed from Kobe last week on the O.S.K. liner Santos Maru. They are scheduled to reach Santos, Brazil, August 6, and will proceed to Asuncion, capital of Paraguay, by river. From Asuncion their new homes are four hours by train.

In the new colony, each emigrant family will be allotted a tract of about 50 acres, on which will be cultivated chiefly rice and cotton, Domei says. Another group of settlers, 300 families, will be sent to Paraguay soon.

—*Trans-Pacific*, Tokyo, June 25, 1936.

# CHRONOLOGY

## *Highlights of Current History, July 11--Aug. 10*

### DOMESTIC

- JULY 11**—President Roosevelt opens New York Triborough Bridge; defends policy of Government aid for permanent projects.  
Administration announces it will avoid intervention in American Federation of Labor dispute.  
Treasury Department orders countervailing duties ranging from 22½% to 56% on a number of German imports.  
National Labor Relations Board charges Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company with complicity in assaults at Gadsden, Alabama, on members of United Rubber Workers of America.  
United States and Russia extend limited trade agreement one year.
- JULY 12**—Report shows national income for 1935 at \$52,595,000,000.  
Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, preacher and author, dies.
- JULY 13**—Six unions affiliated with John L. Lewis' industrial unionism defy summons by executive council of A. F. of L.  
Hunger marchers harass Pennsylvania Senate; \$45,000,000 relief fund reported to have been appropriated.
- JULY 14**—Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System announces 50% reserve increase requirements of member banks effective August 15.  
Lieut. Commander John Semer Farnsworth, ex-Navy officer, arrested for selling confidential papers to agent of the Japanese Government.  
Pedro Campos, president of the Nationalist Party, and seven others are placed on trial for plot to overthrow the United States Government in Puerto Rico.
- JULY 15**—A. F. of L. orders trial of twelve unions composing Committee of Industrial Organization.  
President Roosevelt orders resurvey of the Public Works Administration; \$80,000,000 worth of projects are halted.  
Government agencies rush food to midwest drought victims.  
Townsend old-age pension advocates convene at Cleveland.
- JULY 16**—New labor party formed in New York State to work for President Roosevelt's re-election.  
Rev. Father Charles E. Coughlin, radio priest, attacks President Roosevelt before Townsend old-age pension convention; calls President "liar and betrayer."  
Senator Louis Murphy of Iowa killed in auto accident.
- JULY 17**—A.A.A. announces wheat will be purchased and processed for drought victims.  
Midwest corn crop suffers under continued heat.
- JULY 18**—Secretary of Labor Perkins announces that the Walsh-Healey act, imposing wage and hour restrictions on Government domestic contracts, will be effective on September 28.
- JULY 19**—United States' manufacturers protest to President Roosevelt that the Soviets are dumping matches on American markets.
- JULY 20**—W.P.A. puts 24,000 persons to work in five drought States.  
Rains momentarily relieve Midwest corn belt.
- JULY 21**—Two U. S. warships dispatched to Spanish waters for protection of nationalists.
- JULY 22**—Mayor La Guardia of New York charges relief recipients are being exploited at low wages.  
President Roosevelt issues order placing all postmasters under merit system; appoints committee for long-range drought planning.
- JULY 23**—United States Embassy asks aid for Americans at San Sebastian, Spain.  
Governor Landon of Kansas notified of Republican nomination; acceptance speech pledges economy and continued relief.  
United States Steel grants overtime pay above a 48-hour week.  
President Roosevelt Curbs Federal detectives; bans political snooping.  
Thirty-four members of the United Textile Workers of America arrested following strike trouble at Talladega, Alabama; five charged with murder.
- JULY 24**—Drought relief fund raised to approximately \$160,000,000 by Resettlement Administration.
- JULY 25**—Reports indicate a world wheat shortage of a half billion bushels.
- JULY 26**—Norman Thomas, Socialist, accuses President Roosevelt and Governor Landon of deliberately ignoring "war peril."
- JULY 29**—Admiral William Standley reports

- U. S. will build two capital ships during coming year.
- Flood-control commissions receive \$1,050,000 allotment from War Department.
- JULY 30—Large silk mills join "family" mill strike at Paterson; 3,500 looms idle.
- Pennsylvania Legislature agrees on \$45,000,000 relief plan; hunger marchers disband.
- JULY 31—President Green offers to resign leadership of American Federation of Labor in order to end dispute.
- President Roosevelt speaks at Quebec; reiterates "good neighbor" policy.
- William Lemke, Union Party candidate, proposes \$500,000 income limit in conjunction with confiscatory tax.
- Pedro Albizu Campos, leader of Puerto Rican Nationalists, and seven followers, sent to prison on charges of conspiring to overthrow the Government of the United States in Puerto Rico.
- AUGUST 1—People's Party, right-wing Socialists, join the American Labor Party headed by George L. Berry and John L. Lewis.
- Father Coughlin sees danger of "revolution" if Governor Landon is elected President.
- AUGUST 2—John L. Lewis accuses steel employers of "misuse" of pay statistics to show steel earning above manufacturing average.
- Father Coughlin denounces President Roosevelt as "communist."
- Third month of drought sears Midwest crops.
- AUGUST 3—Religious organizations demand League of Nations intervention in Germany to alleviate oppression of Jews.
- American Federation of Labor begins trial of rebellious unions which favor industrial over craft organization.
- AUGUST 4—United States Treasury asks Germany to reveal subsidies on exports to the United States.
- Resettlement Administration proposes cash grants to 125,000 drought victims.
- Illinois hunger marchers barred from the State Capital by police.
- AUGUST 5—American Federation of Labor votes suspension of ten unions affiliated with the Committee of Industrial Organization.
- Germany denies subsidies on exports; countervailing duties raised on four German products by United States Treasury.
- AUGUST 6—Chicago and Southern airliner crashes; eight killed.
- Secretary Morgenthau demotes two secret service men for spying on agents of the Department of Justice.
- AUGUST 7—Committee for Industrial Organization proposes to convene sympathetic unions in an independent convention.
- Representative Marion Zioncheck of Washington, a suicide.
- Three Black Legionnaires convicted; three are freed.
- AUGUST 8—Building trades report June 1936 the best month since 1929.
- Union Party, led by Presidential candidate Lemke, fails to qualify for place on Ohio ballot.
- AUGUST 9—Department of Commerce reports economic recovery at its highest since 1929.
- Resettlement Board plans conversion for grazing of 5,250,000 acres in drought belt.
- Lincoln Steffens, author, dies.
- AUGUST 10—R.C.A. Manufacturing Company at Camden charged with law violation; charge strikebreakers with criminal records used to violently interfere with peaceful picketing.
- Corn crop reported worst since 1881; other crops decline.
- Labor's Non-partisan League proposes liberal third party in 1940.

## INTERNATIONAL

- JULY 11—Germany and Austria sign agreement adjusting differences and conceding Austrian freedom.
- Italy refuses invitation of Locarno powers to participate in Brussels' conference.
- JULY 12—Austria secretly pledges Hitler that Army will be enlarged.
- Japan plans eight railways and an auto road in North China.
- JULY 13—Observers state that by accord with Austria, Hitler has ended peril of encirclement.
- South China Government threatens war with Nanking Government.
- Italy and Germany work for accord; plan united front.
- Great Britain ignores report that Germany is refortifying Heligoland.
- Italy reduces troops on Egyptian border as friendly gesture toward Great Britain.
- Soviets view Austro-German pact as war threat.
- JULY 14—South Chinese leaders defy Nanking Central Government.
- Great Britain momentarily blocks Dardanelles pact over belligerent warship passage.
- England makes earnest attempt to persuade Italy and Germany to attend Locarno conference to be held at Brussels.
- JULY 15—League of Nations sanctions against Italy officially ended.
- Great Britain abandons demand for freedom of passage through the Straits of Dardanelles.
- JULY 16—Railway link reported complete be-

- tween Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Turkey awarded control of the Straits of Dardanelles.
- JULY 17**—Chinese Central Government wins Canton rebels with persuasion; Cantonese leaders flee China.
- JULY 18**—Nazis in Danzig to abolish civil liberties; defy League of Nations.
- JULY 19**—Polish Government is urged to check Nazis in Danzig.
- JULY 20**—Powers sign **Montreux Treaty**, permitting Turkey to legally occupy Straits.
- England forbids League action in Danzig; agitation continues.
- JULY 21**—Preliminary talks for **Locarno** parley at Brussels scheduled for London.
- JULY 22**—Japan uneasy over the strengthening of the Nanking Government with Canton troops, after collapse of **South Chinese** rebellion.
- JULY 23**—Colonel Lindbergh, on visit to Germany, warns of dangers in immense air armament; urges sense of responsibility.
- Britain, Belgium, and France agree at London conference to attempt further measures to draw Italy and Germany into Locarno parley.
- JULY 25**—Germany recognizes Italian conquest of Ethiopia by reducing delegation at Addis Ababa; replaces it with consulate general.
- JULY 26**—Great Britain and France draw closer together as Hitler continues to put pressure on Czechoslovakia.
- United States Commission reports that Swedish cooperatives eliminate monopoly and trust combines.
- Germany assures Polish Government that legal solution will decide future of Danzig.
- JULY 27**—Britain terminates Mediterranean pacts; Italy pleased.
- Soviets charge plan for Finnish airline is military measure against them.
- JULY 29**—Soviets receive £10,000,000 credit from Britain to stimulate trade.
- JULY 31**—Germany and Italy accept invitation to attend Locarno parley at Brussels.
- France requests a three-power parley on neutrality in Spanish civil war.
- AUGUST 1**—Eleventh Olympic Games of modern times opens in Berlin.
- AUGUST 3**—Trade with United States checked by new German monetary decree.
- AUGUST 5**—Lithuania concludes political and trade agreements with Germany.
- AUGUST 7**—First World Jewish Congress convenes at Geneva to discuss understanding between Jewish and non-Jewish peoples.
- AUGUST 8**—Japan seeks recognition of Manchukuo by Great Britain.
- Colonel Hata, former military attaché at Moscow reports Soviet Army is formidable and almost invincible, lacking only trained technicians.
- AUGUST 9**—World Jewish Congress considers proposal for permanent organization.
- Twenty thousand Italian-American veterans residing in Italy receive United States bonus bonds.

## FOREIGN

## China

- AUGUST 1**—Kwangsi Army opposes the Central Nanking Government; rebellious forces begin attack from south on General Chiang Kai-Shek's soldiers.
- AUGUST 2**—Nanking Government delays attack on the rebellious Kwangsi Army.
- AUGUST 3**—Kwangsi troops fight toward sea against Nanking Central Government forces under Chiang Kai-Shek.
- AUGUST 4**—Kwangsi leaders offer terms under which they will submit to Nanking Central Government.

## France

- JULY 12**—Political factions battle at Nice; fifty-five injured.
- JULY 16**—Chamber of Deputies sets up more representative board of Administration for Bank of France.
- JULY 17**—French Chamber passes bill to nationalize arms industry.
- JULY 22**—Cabinet moves to end all strikes; labor joins with Government to stop farm strike.

- JULY 28**—Chamber of Deputies consider severe tourist trade loss.
- JULY 30**—France detains airplanes bound for rebel front.

## Great Britain

- JULY 11**—Sir Samuel Hoare announces England will build huge naval fleet; Government leaders divided on meaning of German pledge to Austria.
- JULY 16**—King Edward escapes alleged attempt to assassinate him.
- JULY 28**—Contract let for sister ship to Queen Mary.
- England plans part-time army unit to attract volunteers.
- JULY 31**—British Parliament, subject to call in crisis, adjourns.
- AUGUST 2**—England accuses Germany of frustrating the "new Locarno" conference.
- AUGUST 5**—Sir Christopher Bullock, Permanent Secretary to Air Ministry, dismissed by Prime Minister Baldwin; corruption denied.



## Greece

- AUGUST 4—Greek Government confronted by "a Communist plot", proclaims martial law; Chamber is dissolved; leftist trade unions order twenty-four hour strike.
- AUGUST 5—Premier Metaxas crushes general "twenty-four hour strike" with troops; Government denies dictatorial *coup*.
- AUGUST 6—Communications under Governmental control; Premier Metaxas begins wholesale arrest and deportation of Communists.
- AUGUST 7—Premier Metaxas' martial law and dictatorship attacked by political leaders; King warned that situation endangers monarchy.
- AUGUST 8—Premier Metaxas declares Greek people are badly in need of discipline.

## Japan

- JULY 14—Japanese Army demands \$882,000,000 appropriation for six-year period.
- JULY 30—Four battleships to be replaced in new Japanese building program.

## Mexico

- JULY 18—Utility workers strike in Mexico City.
- JULY 19—Utility strike deadlocked; workers demand President Cardenas confiscate company property.
- JULY 25—Workers and employers of Mexican Light and Power Company reach accord; 3,000 strikers return to work.

## Spain

- JULY 13—Jose Sotelo, monarchist Deputy, murdered; seventeen police placed under arrest.
- JULY 14—Two fascist demonstrators killed at Deputy Sotelo's funeral; riots in Madrid.
- JULY 17—Telephone service with Spain terminated for "political reasons."
- JULY 18—Fascists revolt in Morocco; plan national revolution.
- JULY 19—Rebels hold Morocco and gain in southern Spain; fighting breaks out in principal cities; Government planes bomb rebels.
- JULY 20—Revolution sweeps all Spain; Socialist forces battle insurgent fascist elements.
- JULY 21—Revolution intensifies; fascist forces gain against loyal Socialist troops.
- JULY 22—Socialist forces subdue fascists in Madrid; regain control of rebellious cities in south.
- JULY 23—Socialist Government takes offensive; Red militia men seize former residences of Madrid aristocrats.
- JULY 24—Fighting in all important cities; national refugees evacuated; churches indiscriminately burned by rioters.
- JULY 25—Rebels defeated before Madrid by loyal troops; France refuses arms shipments despite Spanish gold deposits.

JULY 26—Americans evacuated from San Sebastian; observer reports that France, Germany, Italy, and England are surreptitiously taking sides.

JULY 27—Loyal troops report victory over rebels; Germany protests attack on property in Barcelona.

JULY 28—Government orders confiscation of all religious property; report Catalonia leftists seize General Motors and Ford plants.

JULY 29—Armed forces prepare for major engagements; foreigners still trapped in Madrid.

JULY 30—Madrid Government confiscates merchant marine; Italian bombers forced down en route to aid rebels.

JULY 31—Madrid Government reports gains against rebels; Palma, Majorca, bombed by Government planes; France begins investigation of forced landing of armed Italian planes in Morocco.

AUGUST 1—Rebels attack northern ports; Moroccan rebels receive planes from Italy; reinforcements from Barcelona arrive to aid Madrid Government; France asks all powers to remain neutral.

AUGUST 2—Valladolid, Segonia, and Palma fired by rebel aircraft; France awaits reply on neutrality; Syndicalists seek power in Catalonia.

AUGUST 3—Soviet workers pledge monetary aid to Spanish Government; Americans receive final warning to quit Spain; fighting continues with Government forces successfully defending Madrid.

AUGUST 4—Government defeats rebel drive on Madrid; Great Britain agrees to neutrality plan if Italy accepts; officers of German warship call on General Franco, rebel leader.

AUGUST 5—French leftists enlist with Spanish Government forces; Red Cross estimates 35,000 have been killed; reports of success of both armed forces conflict.

AUGUST 6—Germany aroused by report that four Germans were killed in fighting; rebels start drive on Madrid from south; United States asks Spain to respect American property.

AUGUST 7—Algeciras heavily bombarded by loyal battleship; rebel ships reduce Gijon; Germany demands indemnity for killing of four Germans; Madrid Mortgage Bank run by members of Communist Party.

AUGUST 8—Italy warns Spain on killing of two Italian subjects; church art in Barcelona destroyed by civil war; loyalists prepare offensive in south.

AUGUST 9—Loyalists successfully defend Madrid against rebel attack; Italy reaffirms peace stand; France bans sale of arms.

AUGUST 10—British warships shield rebel stronghold at Algeciras from loyal bombardment by closing Gibraltar to combatants; new regime in Catalonia assumes powers of sovereign State.

## AUTHORS in this ISSUE:

**Emil Lengyel** (*Austria's Gamble*) is back, then off again for Europe with almost commuter regularity. His last trip took him through nineteen countries. Usually, he finds plenty to write about, and reviewers like the way he writes it. With the recent publication of his *Millions of Dictators*, the *New York Times* observed: "Mr. Lengyel has a real gift for re-creating the atmosphere of the places he describes. He has a keen sense of humor. The volume is full of witty and sometimes profound observations." Other books by Dr. Lengyel include *The New Deal in Europe*, *The Cauldron Boils*, and *Hitler*.

**Rexford Guy Tugwell** (*Changing Acres*) returns to *CURRENT HISTORY* with this sequel to his recent *Down to Earth*. Certain situations to the West appear to have absorbed his attentions, so we were obliged to postpone this article for some time. We hope to publish another soon.

**W. Walter Crotch** (*Eyes on Danzig*) is editor-in-chief of the International Press Bureau. He knows his Europe and seems ever watchful of Germany, with the doubtful sympathies of an Englishman having headquarters in Paris.

**Joseph H. Baird** (*Workers in the Soviet*) is the former United Press Correspondent in Moscow who, we promised in July, would soon be back with a sequel to his valued *Small Business in the Soviet*.

**Gordon Rend** (*Opposition in Germany*) comes from a family of former German diplomats whose identity he is not too anxious to disclose while they remain within the borders of that country. To confound those who ought not know, he uses a pseudonym, not only for us, but for many newspapers now using his services.

**L. S. Stavrianos** (*Schooling Under the Dictators*) writes from Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, where history and international relations engage his talents. He has contributed to *Social Science* and the *Michigan Historical Review*.

**Richard L. Neuberger** (*Power as an Issue*) is a feature writer for *The Oregonian* (Portland)

and a correspondent in the Northwest for the *New York Times*. He is co-author of *An Army of the Aged* (Caxton's) an analysis of the political and social implications of the Townsend movement.

**Tibor Eckhardt** (*As I See Europe*) is one of Hungary's politically foremost citizens. A Monarchist of liberal tendencies, he was elected leader of the Opposition in that country in 1933 and is now engaged in a campaign against the Goemboes administration. Earlier in his career he was Secretary of State, and Chief of the Press Department of the Hungarian Government.

**Arthur E. Sufferin** (*Brewing a Labor Party*) explains labor problems to New York University students and conducts economic research for the Federal Council of Churches. He has written two books: *Conciliation and Arbitration in the Coal Industry in America*, and *The Coal Miner's Struggle for Industrial Status*.

**Leonid I. Strakhovsky** (*Bulgaria Struggles On*) is Professor of Modern European History, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. A Russian by birth, he participated in the World War and the civil war in Russia. Leading American and European periodicals have published many of his articles. He was decorated by the late King Albert of Belgium with the Order of Leopold II in 1930, and by King Carol of Rumania with the Order of the Crown of Rumania in 1935.

**William Henry Chamberlin** (*Japan's Trade Challenge*) is special correspondent for *The Christian Science Monitor* in the Far East, maintaining headquarters in Tokyo. For ten years he was correspondent for the same publication in Russia. "His books, *Soviet Russia*, *The Soviet Planned Economic Order*, and *Russia's Iron Age* have attracted much attention and have exercised no small influence on the framing of public opinion in this country," it was stated by the *New York Times* recently in reviewing Mr. Chamberlin's new book, *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1921*. The same review notes that "the straightforward simplicity and charm of his style have received the recognition they fully deserve."

## TO OUR READERS:

With this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*, we complete the major changes in publication policy announced when we purchased the magazine last spring. We are gratified to say that both the percentage of renewal subscriptions and the number of new readers attest the acceptability of these changes.

Point by point, we feel we have made good the pledges to our readers. Above all, we feel we have preserved the integrity and character of the magazine, and the excellent reputation it enjoyed under the long management of the *New York Times Company*.

First among the changes, we might consider the monthly historical review. Under the old management, this feature was treated by countries, to each of which one authority was assigned. We feel, however, that the real history is distinguished not so much by what goes on within certain boundaries, as by the progress or retrogression of major trends of thought. Thus, in our judgment, Italy and Germany, for example, are of less importance as such, than the major ideas they represent; fascism, Nazi-ism, the concept of the totalitarian state, become then, the major trends, which, we feel, students of history will most want to watch. It was with this general idea in mind, that we changed the old historical review, and substituted the *Log of Major Currents*. Its reference value is enhanced by its treatment of only the significant things; the mere fact of a country's geographic existence is not used as the basis of an historic article, if nothing of any moment occurred there. This is not to say, however, that *CURRENT HISTORY* now does, or proposes at any time, to abolish separate studies of the individual nations by those best qualified to present them. Such studies are given their proper place in the main section devoted to original articles.

*CURRENT HISTORY* contains the same number of pages as under the old management. The page size also remains the same. If the magazine appears somewhat smaller, it is because the edges are now trimmed, and a thinner paper is being

used. The new, smooth-finished paper permits the use of halftone illustrations where needed or desirable.

The enlarged chronology speaks for itself, and adds immeasurably to the reference value of *CURRENT HISTORY*. It is a complete index, not to the magazine, but to important happenings the world over, whether or not they have been treated editorially.

The cartoons have been continued, but not in a separate section. So far as possible, the cartoons are placed where they most nearly fit the text, which, we feel, not only improves the appearance of the magazine, but lends further interest to the subject treated.

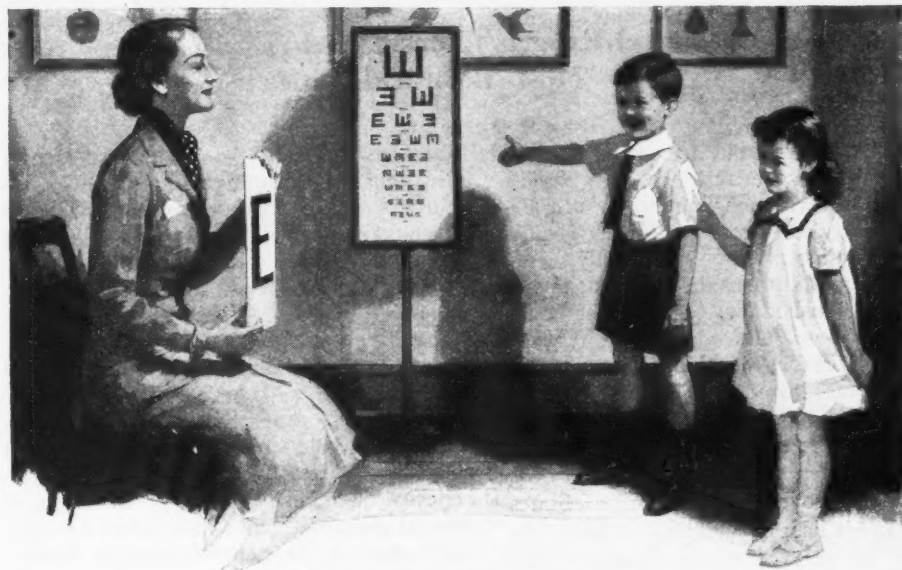
*CURRENT HISTORY* contributors have remained on the same unimpeachably high level. For the most part, they are well-known authorities in their respective fields; when they are less known, however, we require that their articles be thoroughly documented, and no matter by whom submitted, each article is subjected to careful research. *CURRENT HISTORY* has no desire to eliminate unknown authors who may have something of value to say. At the same time, it has no desire to publish a well-known author who may have nothing to say. Each writer's qualifications are given.

*They Say* is an entirely new feature, meeting the demand for sidelights on the world scene, as viewed through foreign eyes. It has been substituted for the old feature, *On the Margin of History*. The new section is not an office collection of oddities in the news; our own staff of translators combs the foreign press and magazines for intimate glimpses of world-wide thought and problems.

Such are the major innovations, to which the new management pledged itself on taking over *CURRENT HISTORY*. We are grateful for the fine response they have brought and the new friends they have won. It shall be our aim constantly to improve the magazine, and to make it larger and increasingly valuable.

M. E. Tracy, Publisher.

# How Good Are Your Child's Eyes?



Being taught to play the "E" game

*Children think of it as a good game and readily respond when asked to show which way the legs of the "funny little 'E' animal" point. Up, down or sidewise go their arms. In this way, boys and girls, before they know their letters, indicate fairly accurately how well they can see.*

SCHOOL work means years of hard use for young eyes. Backwardness in school is frequently the result of defective eyesight. Before children go to school make sure their eyes are fit for study.

Modern eyesight tests are of great importance in demonstrating whether a child's eyes are fit to assume this strain. Many kindergartens are using the "E" Chart supplied by the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness to discover gross defects of vision.

Eye troubles are usually due to faults in the structure of the eye, to disease either in the eye or in other parts of the body, to some deficiency in the diet, to strain, or to improper use of the eyes. Eyes need special attention during and following serious illness.

Some visual defects may grow progressively worse if nothing is done to correct them. It is no use hoping that children will out-



grow "cross-eye." But corrective measures save thousands of boys and girls yearly from becoming permanently cross-eyed.

Astigmatism, farsightedness, or nearsightedness can usually be corrected by glasses. Diseases of the eyes require special medical treatment.

Food plays an essential part in keeping eyes healthy. Of special importance to the health of the eyes are foods which contain Vitamin A, such as cream, butter, milk and fish oils.

Take no chances with vision by trying to fit your child with glasses, or by relying on home treatment. Eyes are too precious. Consult a specialist. Attention to the eyes should always be a part of regular health examinations.

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# —Speaking of Travel—

## Travel Experts Choose World's Twenty Most Beautiful Cities

THE inevitable Man from Mars, overlooking for the moment the world's wrangles and revolutions, might not have too much difficulty in selecting the most beautiful cities on this planet. Apparently, there is some unanimity on the subject among those who should know. Sir Michael Sadler, formerly of Oxford University, and Malcolm La Prade, the "Man from Cook's" and widely recognized travel authority, have drawn up lists of the world's twenty most beautiful cities. They are in agreement on eleven.

Sir Michael overlooks the United States entirely in his list; he mentions, in fact, only one city on this continent—Quebec. Mr. La Prade, in a list prepared especially for *Current History*, omits Quebec but finds that New York and Washington deserve high rating.

The eleven cities obtaining mutual recognition by Sir Michael and Mr. La Prade are Paris, Istanbul (Constantinople), Rome, Vienna, Edinburgh, Nuremberg, The Hague,

Budapest, Florence, Stockholm, and Venice. Sir Michael's remaining choices are Gothenbourg, Agra, Benares, Ob-der-Tauben, Dijon, Angouleme, Quebec, Oxford, Bath, and Athens. The other cities on Mr. La Prade's list are New York, Washington, Brussels, Dresden, Nice, Rio de Janeiro, Naples, Prague, and Geneva.

Neither list is arranged in the order of attractiveness; and both authorities were careful to point out that their lists represented the world's most beautiful cities in a collective sense. Mr. La Prade, however, believes that Paris, measured in terms of general planning, ranks first. And for general situation, he believes Rio de Janeiro to be the most beautiful.

Sir Michael believes his list to contain the "most remarkable and most agreeable" cities in the world. Mr. La Prade has confined his list to cities of fairly large population. For this reason, he says, he has omitted smaller cities such as Angouleme or Dijon, or those cities whose chief bid to fame is a single edifice or a single street.

### *The Twenty Most Beautiful Cities in the World*

Following are the lists of the twenty most beautiful cities in the world, as selected by Sir Michael Sadler, recently of Oxford University, and Malcolm La Prade, one of America's foremost travel authorities. Mr. La Prade's list has been prepared especially for *CURRENT HISTORY*.

#### **SIR MICHAEL SADLER**

Rome	Florence
Venice	Vienna
Paris	The Hague
Edinburgh	Nuremberg
Stockholm	Budapest
Athens	Constantinople
Agra	Benares
Bath	Oxford
Gothenbourg	Angouleme
Ob-der-Tauben	Quebec
Dijon	

#### **MALCOLM LA PRADE**

Rome	Florence
Venice	Vienna
Paris	The Hague
Edinburgh	Nuremberg
Stockholm	Budapest
Naples	Rio de Janeiro
New York	Prague
Dresden	Brussels
Istanbul	Geneva
Nice	Washington

"I have tried to consider the cities on broader lines," he said, "taking into consideration situation, surroundings, general appearance of streets and layout, exceptionally fine architecture, and unique appearance."

Mr. La Prade is one of a growing number of travel authorities who have accorded New York and Washington high recognition as cities of wide appeal, from standpoints of attractiveness and beauty. Washington's right to notice can hardly be questioned; the remarkably artistic layout and arrangement of the streets, coupled with the magnificent Government structures, have won the admiration of tourists and architects alike. New York City, as Mr. La Prade pointed out, is the "city of the future." Recent park and civic projects, additions to the skyline, and improvement of its harbor, have made New York as attractive as it is cosmopolitan.

Mr. La Prade's list, together with the reasons for the choice of each city follows:

PARIS, because of the magnificent conception of its great boulevards, public squares and parks . . . its splendid buildings, all blending harmoniously, the old with the new.

RIO DE JANEIRO, because of its incredibly beautiful natural surroundings, its mountain background, and its foreground of sea, harbor, and beaches . . . its handsome public buildings, attractive parks, and boulevards.

ISTANBUL, because of its striking situation on the shore of the Bosphorus Strait, and the banks of the winding river, "Golden Horn" . . . because of its graceful domes and minarets which rise high above the roof-tops of the city . . . because of its splendid palaces and villas built along the Bosphorus and the picturesque quality of the craft in its busy harbor.

NAPLES, primarily because of its surroundings . . . Its lovely bay, dotted with the islands of Capri and Ischia, its striking background of Vesuvius, sending up a perpetual thread of gray smoke, which floats away over the city . . . also for its terraced buildings, built along the hills over the bay, and the general coloring of the scene.

NEW YORK, because of its modernistic skyline, its magnificent towers, its rivers and harbor . . . New York represents the city of the future . . . Altogether it is one of the world's most impressive sights.

NUREMBERG, because of its architectural consistency . . . not only apparent in the

old sections that lie inside the walls, but also in the newer parts, which conform to the general medieval style of old Nuremberg . . . taken as a whole Nuremberg is one of the world's most picturesque large cities.

STOCKHOLM, because of its magnificent situation on Lake Mälaren, and its many canals, its fine architecture, both old and new. The oldest section of the city has scarcely changed for 300 years. The new Town Hall is recognized as one of the world's most beautiful buildings. The residential surroundings of the city are remarkably beautiful, and the whole thing is spotlessly clean and well kept.

BUDAPEST, because of its many magnificent buildings, and its striking situation on both banks of the Danube . . . its beautiful bridges, and its St. Margaret's Island, lying in the middle of the Danube.

VENICE, because of its uniqueness . . . its canals and bridges and, above all, because of St. Marks Square, the most picturesque example of a medieval square in existence.



YOU MAY NOW VISIT in modern comfort, Cortez' domains which he himself never visited, although the Great Conquistador was made Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca.

AND what a thrill to turn the pages of history centuries back in the course of an entrancing sight-seeing schedule, when you discover the near-by famed archeological cities of Mitla and Monte Alban. There you'll purchase sarapes, jewels, needlework and pottery from those colorful peoples, the Zapotecs and Mixtecs.

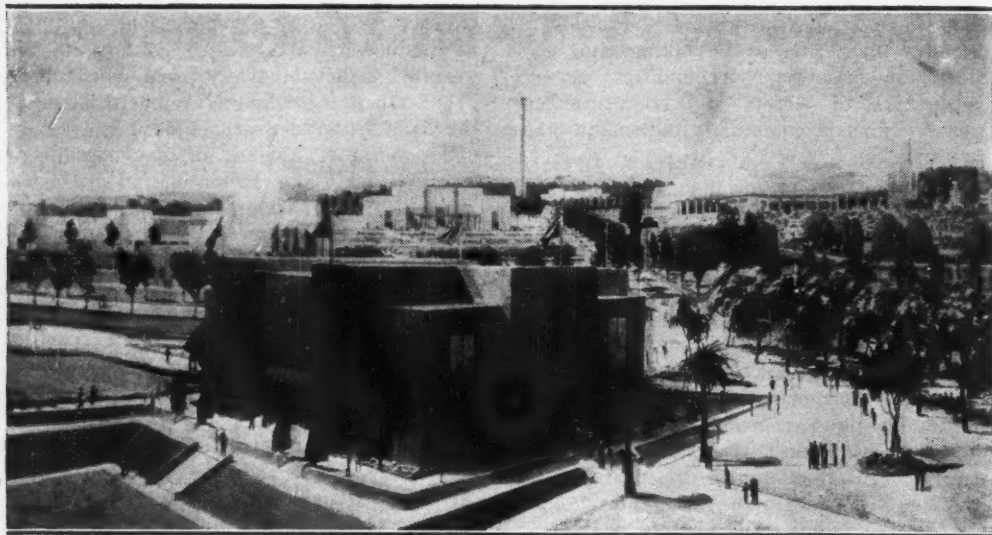
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Diorama of the South African Empire Exhibition at Johannesburg. The Exhibition will open September 15.

WASHINGTON, because of its magnificent governmental buildings and its fine broad avenues . . . a city laid out in the same lavish style as Paris.

GENEVA, because of its charming situation on Lake Geneva and its background of snow-covered Alps . . . also because of its many fine buildings and monuments, and attractive streets and parks.

NICE, one of the world's most beautiful seaside cities, with many fine avenues, a splendid sea-front promenade, lined with imposing buildings . . . Nice and its surroundings are particularly beautiful in coloring.

VIENNA, selected particularly because of its "Ringstrasse," the great tree-lined boulevard which encircles the older parts of the city. Along this boulevard are some of the most beautiful buildings in Europe and many attractive parks.

EDINBURGH, because of its romantic aspect . . . the old Castle standing high against a rocky background . . . the ancient houses lining the "Royal Mile," and also the fine modern appearance of Princes' Street in contrast to older Edinburgh.

ROME, a city which has made great strides in civic beauty within the last 10 years, clearing away unsightly buildings which formerly hemmed in the great monuments and ruins of antiquity, and also creating fine modern streets and avenues, and many splendid new buildings. Rome has

as many notable buildings as any city in the world.

DRESDEN, one of Germany's most charming cities, notable for its situation on both banks of the Elbe and for its many beautiful baroque buildings.

PRAGUE, because of its impressive situation on both banks of the Moldau, its many beautiful bridges, and graceful church spires. The older sections are particularly picturesque.

THE HAGUE, a charming garden-city, with many tree-lined streets, attractive houses, and some very fine old Dutch renaissance buildings, churches, and palaces.

FLORENCE, because of its magnificent churches and palaces of the early renaissance period, because of its many quaint and narrow streets, and its charming situation on both banks of the Arno.

BRUSSELS, because of its attractive tree-lined boulevards, its many fine monuments, and above all its "Grand Place", a most perfect example of a medieval square in Gothic style.

#### Here and There

Johannesburg, fastest growing city in the world, is the stage of the South Africa Empire Exhibition, beginning this month and running until January. Johannesburg is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary with the largest empire exhibition since Wembley.

Fifty years ago, Johannesburg was a tented city of hustling gold miners. Today, the population has swelled to 750,000, if one includes adjacent towns, and the city prides itself on being the most prosperous in the world. Employed in the nearby gold mines along the Rand are more than 280,000 natives and 34,000 Europeans, working in mines which yield forty percent of the world's gold output.

More than two years of construction, organization, and detail have gone into the preparation for the exhibition. Officials estimate that upwards of 2,000,000 visitors and tourists will attend during the four months' showing. Among the tourist attractions will be pageants of history, native war dances, music festivals in which the world's most famous military bands will participate, and performances in mammoth open-air theatres.

The exhibition will not be local in character, however, although it coincides with Johannesburg's Jubilee Celebration, and will be held on a comprehensive scale in order to demonstrate the progress of the Union of South Africa during the past fifty years.

Air-mindedness of vacationing Americans is definitely on the increase. National Park Airways reports a thirty-eight percent increase in service over last year.

Considered one of the showplaces of Russia, Leningrad is now in the process of becoming a city of parks and open spaces. When the civic improvement program is completed, the city will have 2,500 acres of wide park space and 3,000 acres in greenery and lawns. In addition, a seven-mile belt of parkland and gardens will encircle the city.

For the time being, the contemplated sister ship of the *Queen Mary* will be known as "Number 552." The new project is now definite, and the vessel will have approximately the same dimensions and speed as the *Queen Mary*. The owners of the ship aim to inaugurate a weekly service between New York, Cherbourg, and Southampton, using only two ships. This is planned as an economy measure, since it is now necessary to have three express ships maintain weekly sailings.

The Astronomical Clock on the Cathedral of St. Pierre, of Beauvais, France, is still

a tourist favorite. The clock contains 90,000 separate pieces and has fifty-two dials, mounted in a gilt oak case thirty-nine feet high. At the top a cock crows and flaps its wings; above it rises a turreted castle.

The Polish Government's new highway-building program has induced many American tourists to take their cars along for extended visiting in that country. Poland's new concrete highways, particularly those leading to resorts and places of interest, are said to compare with the best in America.

The Texas Centennial Celebrations continue to attract hundreds of thousands of visitors despite the approaching end of the vacation season. The three celebrations proving overwhelmingly popular are the Exposition at Dallas, the Frontier Centennial at Fort Worth, and the University Centennial Exposition at Austin. The three attractions combined have already been viewed by 2,500,000 persons, all of whom are enthusiastic in their praise. The celebrations will continue in full swing until the end of the year.

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(Continued from page 7)

its own terms and with stream-lined yardsticks. Yet art and culture are not the patented inventions of Western civilization. And one need not revert to ancient Chinese culture on this point. There are as many different cultures today, as old or even older and more highly developed than that belonging to the Western world, as there are peoples. In *Bali and Angkor*, for example, one reads of a happy, adjusted people, engrossed with their art, religion, and dance. The Balinese are happy, Mr. Gorer writes, because they have founded their culture on the "village as a community." In short, there is an almost unbelievable harmony among the people.

"In Bali I saw the only happy large community I have ever seen in my life," he says, adding that he is convinced that he had seen the "nearest approach to Utopia that I am ever likely to see. . . ."

Mr. Gorer found in the ruins of the dead city of Angkor what he believes to be one of the "most lovely pieces of architecture in the world." He was referring to Angkor Wat, which he describes as "almost completely unusable," but decoratively beautiful.

*Bali and Angkor* is keen, stimulating reading, both as a book of travel and as a record of observations on peoples and their cultures. Mr. Gorer's comments on art, philosophy, and religion are sometimes challenging and provocative, but always sincere and worth appraising.

### One for the "Best Books" List

Those who are habitually accustomed to drawing up lists of the year's best books will find in Dr. Victor Heiser's *An American Doctor's Odyssey* (Norton, \$3.50) a worthy candidate for high non-fiction honors. For there are few personal narratives in recent years as full-bodied and as richly flavored as this story of an American doctor's adventures in forty-five countries.

Dr. Heiser was a salesman. It was his job to sell health to the world. This he did with great success. He spent ten years in the Philippine Islands, fighting a batch of plagues that threatened to reduce the entire populace to a race of wasting, diseased flesh. But Dr. Heiser did more than destroy plagues on the island: he educated the people to an understanding of health and the ways in which it could best be retained.

His mission the world over was the same. Supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, Dr. Heiser had a free rein to travel and show people that sickness was not something to be accepted as resignedly as they would a rainstorm; medicine was not the invention of witch doctors but the results of hundreds of years of scientific research.

The vein of anecdote flows through *An American Doctor's Odyssey* with ease and satisfying richness. While in Ethiopia in 1933, Dr. Heiser attempted to interest Emperor Haile Selassie in leprosy control. During the course of the interview, Dr. Heiser inadvertently referred to Ethiopia as a "backward nation." The Emperor inquired politely:—

"How many unemployed have you in the United States?"

"About twelve million, I should imagine."

"Well," he continued blandly, "my Government has been in continuous existence for over five thousand years. We have no unemployment; we have never had any. We have no starving. All my people have homes to live in. They have clothes to wear. They are happy."

I could think of no answer. I have not yet been able to think of one.

### Reaction and the Constitution

Dr. Heiser's difficulty in working out an answer to problems of America's unemployed millions and diverse social ills would seem to extend to the Government itself. For, says Irving Brant in *Storm Over the Constitution* (Bobbs-Merrill, \$2.00), the Government can do little in the way of progressive legislation for the underprivileged, shackled as it is to the bulkheads of reaction and the boundary lines of social progress drawn so tightly by the Supreme Court.

But America's failure to hit a real stride of social progress can hardly be blamed, Mr. Brant thinks, upon the Supreme Court or even Presidents "with the economic views of Cleveland, Taft, Coolidge, and Hoover." The blame, he maintains, should be laid squarely at the door of the people, who elect reactionary Presidents, who in turn naturally appoint reactionary justices, who, in their turn, hand down reactionary decisions. For this reason, he adds, most of this country's history is a cycle of reaction. Once in a long while, however, progressive legislation squeezes through with the support of conservatives as "concessions to head off polit-

(Continued on page 128)

## JOHN L. LEWIS, WILLIAM GREEN,

Elmer Cope, William A. McGarry, and John Raymond Hand

present a symposium on the current American labor problem, with particular reference to the steel industry. The two labor leaders, two workers, and a spokesman for the employers argue their respective sides in a truly *important* contribution.

## BACKGROUND SKETCHES of LEMKE, THOMAS, BROWDER, FATHER COUGHLIN, REV. SMITH, and DOCTOR TOWNSEND

You meet them all—the Third Party personage from North Dakota, the Socialist, the Communist, the benign old doctor, and the political-minded gentlemen of the cloth—as they appear in the supporting cast for the Presidential drama of 1936.

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(Continued from page 126)

ical revolt; and the courts, like Galileo's world, do move."

Mr. Brant, after analyzing the Constitution and the motives, expressed or implied, of the men behind it, can find little justification for the rigid interpretations placed upon it by professional opponents of the New Deal or, for that matter, by the Supreme Court. He urges, in fact, that when the people are told by polished propagandists to return to the "faith of the founders," they seek that faith in their neighbors and themselves. For if that faith—the faith of the founders—can be found, a leadership will be drawn to meet the economic and social crisis of the twentieth century just as the fathers met the political crisis of the eighteenth.

### Miscellaneous Reviews

A summer which has been unusually rich in literary harvest has added to its prize crop *The Flowering of New England* by Van Wyck Brooks (Dutton, \$4); *Drums Along the Mohawk* by Walter D. Edmonds (Little, Brown, \$2.50), and *The Big Money* by John Dos Passos (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.50).

Mr. Brooks' latest effort is a literary history of the years 1815 to 1865. Through its sparkling and fruitful pages one is brought closer than he had ever thought possible to the real Emerson, Longfellow, Thoreau, Norton, Lowell, and Dr. Holmes. Here, too, one sees how literary genius lived, thought, felt, and therefore wrote, in the pre-Civil War days. Van Wyck Brooks is the ideal critic—better still, interpreter—for his primary aim is not to criticize, but to evaluate. He sees clearly, and, unlike many of his contemporaries, can tell exactly what he sees, even to the minutest shades of color in the picture before him.

*Drums Along the Mohawk*, like the phenomenal *Gone With the Wind*, draws its theme and setting from American history. It is difficult to believe that the characters did not actually live during those six years when the Revolution surged and drums beat along the Mohawk Valley. It is equally difficult to believe that Mr. Edmonds did not live through the Revolution himself. But of such stuff are good novels made.

The author of *The Big Money* is again the Dos Passos of *The Forty-Second Parallel* and 1919. Conventionalities of sequence and

theme fall before his seemingly spontaneous outbursts of ideas and observations of the world and its people. As the title of the book would imply *The Big Money* is a story of the boom years in this country. It tells of people whose sails were filled with the winds of fortune on golden seas before the Great Calm of 1929, when the wind seemed to have left the earth and sails became still.

Two important works dealing with American agriculture published last month are *The Social History of American Agriculture* by Joseph Schafer (Macmillan, \$2.50) and *Why Quit Our Own*, by George N. Peek with Samuel Crowther (D. Van Nostrand, \$.50). Both books are equally advantageous reading.

Mr. Schafer's work, a penetrating and comprehensive survey and history of the farm situation in this country, does much to aid in proper evaluation of *Why Quit Our Own*. Mr. Schafer, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, presents the story of American agriculture clearly, completely, and with scholarly detachment. His work is highly recommended to all those seeking an impartial and thorough background study of present-day developments and issues in agriculture.

*Why Quit Our Own*, written by the former administrator of the AAA, offers the author's "program for farm and factory." Advocating "Americanism" instead of "internationalism" in the administration of not only the farm problem but of all other issues in American government as well, the book calls for an embargo or limitation by quota of all competitive farm products, repeal or amendment of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act to provide for Congressional approval of all general trade agreements, and encouragement of the growth of such agricultural products as are now imported.



Jacob S. Minkin in *Herod: A Biography* (Macmillan, \$2.50) has presented one of the few dispassionate and scientific examinations available of history's foremost villain, of whom Emperor Augustus is said to have declared that he would rather be Herod's pig than his son. There is fertile ground here for a bitter and cutting approach to the story of the infamous king, but it is to Dr. Minkin's credit that his writing tools are not scalpel and vitriol but a pen of commendable clarity and restraint.

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# THE WORLD IN BOOKS...

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By John Chamberlain

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IT is difficult to think of the Webbs, Sidney and Beatrice, as two individuals. They seem, rather, to be a whole Fabian Society of investigators in themselves. Their gigantic, incredibly detailed two-volume *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization* (Scribners, \$7.50) has been constructed with the infinite patience of coral animals building an island from the ocean floor. Always primarily interested in administration and in institutions, the Webbs have found in Soviet Russia, where virtually every man, woman and child is enrolled in a producers' or consumers' organization, or in an active political group, a paradise beyond the dreams of any pre-war Fabian. It is ironical to think that the foremost exponents of "gradualism" should have discovered their institutional heaven in a country that had been swept clean for the building of socialism by a very un-Fabian violence. But being really pragmatists, the Webbs do not cry over the spilled milk—or the spilled blood—of the Revolution; they are interested in where Russia is at the moment and in where it is going.

*Soviet Communism* answers most of, if not quite all, the questions that are asked about bolshevism in action. By what method does the Communist party, the group of men with the "vocation of leadership," maintain its authority over millions of non-party Russians? Is Stalin a personal dictator? What is "democratic centralism" and is it really democratic? Does "inequality of wages" mean a compromise with the devil of profit? Has the "dictatorship of the proletariat" anything in common with the Nazi and Italian Fascist dictatorships? What are the reasons for the recent turns in Russian foreign policy? What of the future of "world revolution"? What of the Ogpu? Lastly, is Soviet Russia a new mutation in the history of human society, and what are its chances of outlasting the next world war and the Old Adam in man?

The Webbs' description of the workings of the Russian system of "indirect election" is the clearest I have ever read. While indirectly elected persons may be more easily manipulated by "bosses" and "interests" than officials who get their mandate directly from the people, as the history of the United States Senate before the passage of the Seventeenth Amendment shows, the Webbs prove pretty conclusively that no other method than that of the workers' and soldiers' and the village soviets could have conserved and consolidated

the gains of the Revolution. A parliamentary system would have resulted in the return to power of the bourgeoisie.

In Russia, the Webbs show, government is carried on from bottom to top by the method of conference. The Webbs regard this as more democratic than the Western method of government by nose-counting. They do not believe that the existence of inequality in wages means that the Communists have beaten a retreat toward the "evils" of capitalist competition, for, as they indicate, the inequalities in reward carry with them no differentiation in "social power." The well-paid worker cannot save part of his income to get a personal hold on any of the means of production; hence private monopoly of the forces of production cannot issue from an unequal allotment of buying power among the workers. And because of the lack of private monopoly, the business cycle as we know it cannot exist in Russia.

Where the Webbs are deficient, as Harold Laski has pointed out, is in their discussion of civil liberties. They speak in derogation of the "disease of orthodoxy," which should have no place in a "scientific" community. But they are overtolerant of the mistakes and the occasional barbarity that flow from this disease. To come down to cases, Stalin may have been right and Trotsky wrong in the quarrel over "socialism in one country" versus the "world revolution," but this does not mean that Trotsky should be eradicated from the Russian histories of the period extending from 1917 to 1925. And, as Laski intimates, a definite law defining the scope of treason should be sufficient to deal with plotters against the government. As things stand now in Russia, the method of Ogpu apprehension of plotters and subsequent drum-head trial not only works to scotch treason, but also to kill bold and creative thought. And the "disease of orthodoxy," as it has manifested itself in the Third International, has sometimes resulted in false or belated diagnosis of the political situation in countries other than Russia.

\* \* \*

What the Webbs have to say of health and medicine in Russia should be of profound interest to Paul de Kruif, whose *Why Keep Them Alive?* (Harcourt, Brace, \$3) is a vigorous and impassioned denunciation of a social

Continued on Page VI



## ANNOUNCEMENT

The May issue of *Current History* will appear under a new management, with M. E. Tracy as editor and publisher and John C. Casman as business manager.

The publication will remain the same size, but will be printed on smooth paper, with the same number of pages as at present. It will be divided into sections as now, one devoted to an historical review, and one consisting of articles on current problems, movements, and events.

The review section will be compiled and edited by the staff, and will be subdivided to include religious, scientific, and industrial developments as well as those of a purely political nature. It will be entitled "Log of the Major Currents."

The cartoons and the feature, "On the Margin of History" will be continued. The chronology will be somewhat enlarged for reference purposes. Wherever advisable, graphs, maps, and other illustrations will be used to vivify articles.

In general, *Current History* will endeavor to maintain the high standard of accuracy and comprehensiveness established under the management of The New York Times Company.

The new offices of *Current History* will be located at 63 Park Row, New York City, to which all communications should be addressed hereafter.

NEXT MONTH  
IN**Current  
HISTORY**

MAY

1936

**OIL in the Wheels of Empire***By Leonard M. Fanning*

A straightforward account of oil the world over—who has it, who wants it, who needs it, and why. The problem of oil sanctions is given a sound basis.

**TAXES:****English, French, American***By Edward C. McDowell, Jr.*

An analysis and comparison of taxation in three countries, with emphasis on the people who pay them, and how much.

**WHAT'S LEFT OF CHINA***By T. O. Thackrey*

The former editor of the Shanghai Evening Post and of Ta Mei Wen Pao presents a graphic story of China today—a smaller China with fewer Chinese.

ALSO: A historical review, "Log of the Major Currents" • A comprehensive chronology of a month's events • Marginal notes on major happenings • Illustrations which will include graphs, maps, and charts • Other interpretative articles on the world scene, at home and abroad.

**Japanese Enigma**

by Charles Hodges

**Craft vs. Industrial Union**

by Arthur E. Suffern

**"Protected" by Hitler**

by Mrs. — — \*

**Mortgagee, Mortgagor**

by Leon Siler

\*Identity withheld for obvious reasons.

*Continued from Page III*

system that subsidizes plenty of laboratories and research in America, but cannot distribute the national income in such a way that all people can avail themselves of what comes out of the laboratories and the research. "Science," Mr. de Kruif concludes, "is nice for those who can afford it." But he wonders why doctors should bother to cure children of tuberculosis and then send them back to slum areas that anyhow kill them in the end. And of what use is it to develop a preventive for diphtheria when a budgetary lack keeps American cities from applying it? To continue, what use is free scientific information about a "balanced diet" to an unemployed miner who cannot afford to buy the requisite foods for his children? Questions like these began to prey on Mr. de Kruif's mind a year or so ago. He saw red, and *Why Keep Them Alive?* is the stirring, challenging result.

\* \* \*

Although Marquis W. Childs is hardly to be compared to the Webbs, his *Sweden: The Middle Way* (Yale University Press, \$2.50) is an excellent quick-running survey of the progress of socialization among the Scandinavians. The Swedes seem to be solving their economic troubles along lines that involve considerable collectivization without bogging themselves in any of the blood and agony of orthodox revolution.

It is extremely interesting to compare the Swedish "middle way" with that of the New Deal in America. The Swedish collectivization is designed to expand production and to lower costs and prices; the New Deal, on the other hand, has worked to restrict production and to raise prices. The one is a "socialization of production"; the other, a "socialization of losses." And the Swedish measures have been democratically instituted by the people themselves, whereas the New Deal, as exemplified at least by NRA, has had an aura of paternalism about it. The Swedes have not needed a Section 7a to insure collective bargaining, for the labor unions, with the help of their Social Democratic politicians, have made themselves strong enough to compel collective bargaining. When the Swedes discovered they were being soaked by the cartels, they formed cooperatives to produce and distribute needed goods at a nominal price above cost. Thus they have compelled the cartels to compete under free market conditions. Today the Swedish cooperatives are doing one-third of the retail trade and one-tenth of the wholesale trade of the country. A man can live and die within the cooperative system if he so desires.

Of course, the prosperity of Sweden depends to a considerable degree upon its export trade. This means that the country of Mr. Childs's fervent admiration is bound up with the fate

of world capitalism. However, no matter what the future may bring, Mr. Childs has hopes that Sweden will continue along the road to the necessary collectivization without blundering into violence and bloodshed.

\* \* \*

Donald R. Richberg's *The Rainbow* (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50), which is a partisan's story of the NRA, contrasts significantly with Mr. Childs's book. Despite the Supreme Court's invalidating decision, Mr. Richberg thinks that some such organization as flourished for a period under the wing of the Blue Eagle is an American necessity. Yet Mr. Richberg's own pages offer plenty of material to show that an NRA which tries to bring capital, labor and the consumer together in a voluntary program is bound to fail.

It is bound to fail simply because the needs and desires of capital, labor and the consumer often come into radical conflict, and the conflict must push toward a decision that has binding force. The NRA never had the authority really to enforce its decisions; hence it must have fallen into desuetude even without the crippling action of the Supreme Court.

The NRA, it becomes apparent from Mr. Richberg's pages, tried to force a hothouse growth on institutions that demand steady growth from the bottom up and from the inside out. Mr. Richberg tells us that European nations have their own variants of the NRA, which is a half-truth that must lead to confusion. European nations have economic controls, economic checks and balances, that do the work the NRA was designed to do. But these checks and balances have had an autonomous growth. As Mr. Childs points out, the Swedish consumer protects himself by organizing the cooperative to manufacture and distribute products. This is an Emersonian, "self-help" method that compels results—far different from the appointment of a powerless board to investigate and report on the needs of the consumer. And in Sweden, as in Great Britain and France, labor has organized and gone into politics on its own hook, not waited for the parties of big business or the agrarian interests to be unselfish. Mr. Richberg evidently hoped to conjure such things as guaranteed collective bargaining into existence before people like John L. Lewis had created the instruments to compel collective bargaining. Of course, NRA did give labor leaders an impetus. It did gain concessions, such as the five-day week. But long before the Schechter decision it was obvious that the gains could not be held unless organization from the bottom up provided the necessary power groups to make them a continuing reality.

\* \* \*

The recent spate of Supreme Court decisions bearing on the New Deal power to en-

force its program has resulted in a comparable spate of articles. Books will probably develop from these articles, and already we have David Lawrence in the field with his *Nine Honest Men* (D. Appleton-Century, \$1.50). Mr. Lawrence denies that economic preconceptions or general social philosophy sway any of the nine justices. With them, if we accept Mr. Lawrence's view of things, only the words of the Constitution have any effect.

Well, maybe so and maybe not. The trouble with Mr. Lawrence's book is not his assumption that Supreme Court judges are wholly bound by the meaning of the Constitution. They are, of course. The trouble with Mr. Lawrence's book is that he will not admit the existence of Constitutional imponderables. He will not admit that a "broad" interpretation of the commerce clause, such as the New Deal lawyers hoped would uphold the NRA in the Schechter case, may seem to many just as "constitutional" as the "narrow" interpretation that can nicely distinguish the place where interstate trade leaves off and intrastate trade begins. And Mr. Lawrence indulges in some political mud-slinging when he implies that the Roosevelt government is deliberately out to flout the Constitution. In as much as no one knows precisely what the Constitution means in certain contested instances, how could the Roosevelt government know absolutely that the NRA was unconstitutional until the Supreme Court said it was? Donald Richberg, who has argued cases before the Supreme Court, thought a very good constitutional case could be made out for the NRA. His own opinion, printed in *The Rainbow*, has logical consistency and is soundly based on precedents that are known to "any fairly well-trained lawyer."

\* \* \*

We hear much of the theory that the so-called "hungry nations"—Japan, Germany and Italy—need room for expansion. Certainly the leaders in these countries are working on that assumption, whether for demagogic purposes or not. And an assumption must be considered a fact in international politics, even if it does not rest on anything tangible. But what about the underlying economic validity of the theory that the hungry nations need colonies in which to settle excess population?

Sir Norman Angell, in his *Raw Materials, Population Pressure and War* (World Peace Foundation, 75 cents), has a few pertinent facts and figures that do much to riddle the theory. Great Britain, he points out, has more overseas colonies than any other nation. She also has an unemployment problem at home. Seemingly, if any nation can solve a problem of "population pressure" along expansionist lines, Great Britain ought to be the first to do it. Yet, in 1934, "20,000 more Britons returned from the overseas territories than went thereto." The average Englishmen on the

dole could see no use in moving to Canada, for example, since Canada was also having its economic difficulties. She could not sell her raw materials in the world market in sufficient quantity to take care of her own population. Incidentally, the "hungry" nations are suffering from a lack of raw materials only because they have not the money to pay for them. If they had overseas colonies with raw materials, they would still lack the money to pay for them, just as Great Britain has lacked the money to take the Canadian and Australian surpluses.

Japan may need room to "expand," but she has owned Korea for twenty-five years and Formosa for almost forty, and relatively few Japanese have moved into these sparsely settled areas. And only 5,000 Italians have settled in Eritrea, where the total Italian population engaged in agriculture is eighty-four. Only ninety Italian families could be induced to move to Libya in 1934. How, in the face of these statistics, does Mussolini hope to settle huge numbers of Italians in the inhospitable (to Europeans) land of Ethiopia?

The truth of the matter would seem to be that tropical colonies do not attract Europeans. When Germany owned African and Asiatic territory, there were more Germans living in Paris than in all the German colonies combined. When an Italian left the homeland before the war, he usually picked out the United States or Argentina, not East Africa, as his destination. In the light of the facts assembled by Sir Norman, the population pressure problem of Japan, Italy and Germany will never be solved by the acquisition of Manchuria, Ethiopia or Portuguese East Africa.

\* \* \*

Sir Norman Angell goes on arguing on the assumption that men and nations will listen to reason, which is doubtful. Certainly they did not listen to the reason of his *The Great Illusion*, which proved the economic folly of war long before Sarajevo started the World War. How the statesmen of Germany contributed to the blunders that resulted in Armageddon is told in *The Eve of 1914* (Knopf, \$4.50) by Theodor Wolff, editor-in-chief of the *Berliner Tageblatt* in pre-Hitler days. He gives one a vivid picture of men in high place taking long bluffing chances—and getting caught. He does not think the World War was inevitable. If Germany had sat on Austria, if Berchtold had been called to heel by a reprimand from Berlin to Vienna, if Serbia's reply to the Austrian ultimatum had not been suppressed—then there might have been no war.

\* \* \*

Ralph Adams Cram's *My Life in Architecture* (Little, Brown, \$3.50) is the story of a

Continued on Page XIV



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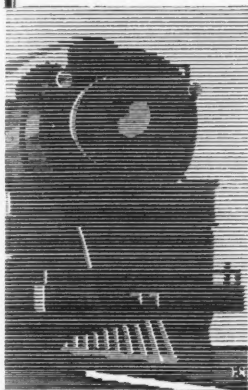
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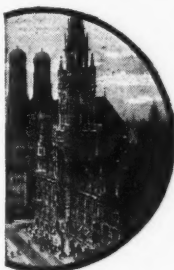
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Continued from Page VII

medievalist who has fought vigorously to preserve and extend the Gothic tradition in American building. Although Mr. Cram's preconceptions and values must inevitably sound retrogressive to most Protestant Americans, the story of his life is of absorbing interest. Mr. Cram had such a good time in pursuing his medievalism that a reader is beguiled in spite of himself.

Henry Seidel Canby's *Alma Mater: The Gothic Age of the American College* (Farrar & Rinehart, \$2.50) is a compound of nostalgic reminiscence and keen criticism. It should be of particular interest to graduates of Yale University, who will recognize themselves in Mr. Canby's pages, but it is also sufficiently generalized to constitute an indictment of the average American university of 1890-1910.

Of the novels of the month, three, perhaps, are worthy of note. Ramona Herdman's *A Time for Love* (Harper's, \$2) is a shrewd analysis of an undecided young editor who discovered that he had not the time required to keep his mother, his wife, his mistress and his employer happy. Dawn Powell's *Turn, Magic Wheel* (Farrar & Rinehart, \$2.50) satirizes the New York literary whirl. And D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded* (Dodd, Mead, \$2) is a convincing story of a half-breed Indian whose two bloods—Spanish and Flathead—are at war within his veins.

## The American Year Book

*THE AMERICAN YEAR BOOK. A Record of Events and Progress for 1935.* Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart and William M. Schuyler. New York: The American Year Book Corporation, 1936. \$7.50.

SCHOLARS, librarians, business men and all others who require a handy work of reference have always found *The American Year Book* invaluable. Its articles are prepared with care and authority; they roam over the wide territories of politics and business, science and the humanities. The brief essays on biography or fiction are neat, critical estimates and surveys that bring together exactly the sort of facts needed to guide a person through the maze of contemporary publishing. So in their particular fields are the accounts of what happened during 1935 at the White House or on Capitol Hill, in New York City, in the States.

## Political Handbook

*POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD. Parliaments, Parties and Press as of January 1, 1936.* Edited by Walter H. Mallory. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936. \$2.50.

THE system employed by Mr. Mallory in gathering and checking the information presented in this unique reference book reduces the incidence of error almost to zero. It is indispensable to any one who desires to keep up to date on world affairs.

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# THE WORLD IN BOOKS...

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PREMIER MUSSOLINI has switched on the lights and frankly admits that his business in Africa will not be complete until the Ethiopian "military formations" (a category which might very well apply to the entire population) are totally annihilated.

This mass slaughter cannot fail, Il Duce says, but his words may be somewhat disillusioning to W. W. Chaplin, whose *"Blood and Ink,"* a reporter's diary of the Italo-Ethiopian war has just been published (Telegraph Press, \$2). Mr. Chaplin, after living with the Italian army as a war correspondent for three months, is convinced that the natives welcome the invasion. He pictures a "pitiful people" slowly disintegrating because of starvation, disease, and economic insecurity. Any change would be for the better; "they would have welcomed invasion by the ancient Huns or Goths," the author contends, adding that he has "seen no act of harshness or injustice committed [by the Italians] against this people so deeply in need of understanding."

## *African Imperialism*

Mr. Chaplin, however, will find all these points at issue in *The Rape of Africa* (Harrison Smith & Robert Haas, \$3), a broader treatment of the subject by Lamar Middleton, to whom the Italian dictator's declaration of annihilation will come as no surprise.

Mr. Middleton traces the activities of seven European nations in Africa over a period of sixty years and can see little good in a situation that has deprived 140,000,000 natives of nine tenths of their land. Each so-called civilization expedition was a bigger "swindle" than the next, and Africa has nothing to show for it all except flogging, poison "booze", taxes, military conscription, chain gangs, and missionaries. And not the least among the civilized practices brought to the dark continent by the Europeans have been rape, pillage, fraud, and murder.

The author states his case strongly, but is well supplied with convincing evidence in his assertions. Although his book does not deal with the Italo-Ethiopian affair, one almost feels certain that Mr. Middleton would classify it as just another "major swindle."

But powerful as is Mr. Middleton's indictment of imperialism in Africa, it seems reasonable that some of the claims advanced by the colonizing nations can be held up to scrutiny. Mr. Chaplin sees a new Abyssinia with wider and better roads, with schools and hospitals, with opportunity, and the "priceless gifts of security." But the bargain is

not all on the side of Ethiopia; Italy will get "broad plains which she can make fertile and on which she can settle hundreds of thousands of her surplus population, thus reducing unemployment and increasing the national wealth."

The composite picture, if any, to be drawn from both books, might conceivably be that of a continent which had to pay the price of independence and even its own identity for the benefits, however questionable, of the administration of government by European nations. It is hardly deniable that roads, hospitals, and schools were built and will be built, yet one wonders whether these traditional institutions were introduced more for the purpose of attracting domestic population than to ease the conscience of the Europeans over the question of the "white man's burden."

## *When Japan Goes to War*

Another book dealing with the acquisitive complex of nations is *When Japan Goes to War* (Vanguard, \$3), a comprehensive and authentic analysis of Japan's ability to fight and her probable staying power in an almost inevitable conflict. The authors are O. Tanin and E. Yohan, who are remembered for their *Militarism and Fascism in Japan*.

The Japanese people are not all agreed on the question of war but the militarists, who have adopted the slogan of "Asia for the Asiatics", feel that it will not be long before the masses will yield to the exhortations of chauvinism and nationalism and clamber aboard the bandwagon of death.

And when war does come to Japan, the country will be plunged into a period of economic strain that may have as its consequences financial bondage and loss of national independence. For Japan is not yet ready for a sustained war. She has neither sufficient resources of her own nor can afford to buy in the proper quantities from other countries. Here the authors sound a warning to nations which would help finance Japanese military adventures, cautioning that "not only are they fostering and feeding their own future enemy, but that the resources needed by Japan would far exceed her ability to repay them."

The Land of the Rising Sun wants more than Mongolia. It wants Asia; at least "all the land East of the Urals and the Altai." The Soviet war, moreover, while an immediate objective, is but an integral part of Japan's Pan Asiatic long-range program. This scheme would see Japan in possession of the Asiatic Pacific Coast, of China, Central Asia, and of the South Sea Islands.

Thus the war with Russia is considered by Japanese militarists as the first hurdle in their



# DON'T MISS

## The New Deal Mentality

by H. L. MENCKEN

IT will be as widely read and quoted as "Three Years of Dr. Roosevelt" which created a sensation throughout the country and exhausted two editions of the March American Mercury.

### *Also In the May Issue*

**Our Sexual Ethics**  
by BERTRAND RUSSELL

**The Lost Right of Privacy**  
by DAVID LAWRENCE

**Culbertson: Barnum of Bridge**  
by JOHN KOBLER

**The WPA Racket in Pennsylvania**  
by DUNCAN AIKMAN

### *Mencken Says Among Many Other Things:*

"A few years ago all the New Deal Isaiahs were obscure and impotent fellows who flushed with pride when they got a nod from the cop at the corner; today they have the secular rank of princes of the blood, and the ghostly faculties of cardinal archbishops. Each is the hero of a Cinderella story more marvelous than any ever recorded at Hollywood, where five-and-ten-store girls become great ladies overnight, and the pants-presser of yesterday needs forty valets to press his pants today. What would *you* do, friend, if you were hauled suddenly out of a bare, smelly schoolroom, wherein the razzberries of sophomores had been your only music, and thrown into a place of power and glory almost befitting Caligula, Napoleon I, or J. Pierpont Morgan, with whole herds of Washington correspondents crowding up to take down your every wheeze, and the first pages of their newspapers thrown open to your complete metaphysic? You would conclude at once, I fancy, that you were a very smart fellow, and it would be pretty hard for you to keep your head."

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quest of imperialist utopia. Yet this first hurdle may be too high. Analyses of Japan's finances, military equipment, and natural resources indicate that she could wage a major war for no more than a year, two years at most. Beyond that point, the country will face mass starvation with its inevitable consequence of the intensification of the class struggle.

Japanese militarists themselves concede that a war of more than two years' duration would split the spine of the country's capital and industry. But they do not expect to wage war without allies. They feel that the war against the Soviet will be lightened by internal difficulties in Europe which may see a new world war, or that one or even a few European powers may join Japan against Russia. It would appear that the logical candidate would be Germany, which has already undertaken agreements to ship war chemicals and armaments to Japan. German fascism has openly expressed its sympathy for Japan and is not willing to "raise objection to the policy of a 'Prussia of the East.'"

Mr. Tanin and Mr. Yohan have been careful to avoid the pitfalls of surmise and conjecture. They have undertaken to investigate Japan's capacity for war; they have analyzed the country's natural resources, industrial conditions, markets, and credit. The report of their investigation bears the stamp of authenticity.

### *Alien Americans*

While Japan is stirring her war porridge of propaganda and polemics, our own "Little Japan" is having trouble of its own. Minor race disturbances are being reported in increasing frequency from California. One feels that the problem is more a matter of America's general treatment of foreigners than it is of nationalist influence. The problem in its broadest aspects is discussed by B. Schrieke in *Alien Americans* (Viking, \$2.50).

What happens to the American-born child of immigrant parents who finds that he is an unwelcome citizen? If he is deprived of normal schooling, recreation, and social contact, can he be blamed if he becomes a charge upon the State? Or can we condemn him if he looks to foreign shores for his economic and social salvation?

It is not so much the answer to these problems as the causative reasons which will concern a nation that prides itself upon the possession of a document advertised all over the world for its provisions against inequality and persecution.

There have been many books dealing with the immigration problem since Jacob Riis wrote his "Making of An American." Mr. Schrieke's book deserves a high place among the best of them. But Riis wrote at a time when America made light of its reputation as the melting pot. Today, the stigma of race transcends all else, citizenship and even American birth.

Yet one can hardly say that the problems of



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economic hardship and inopportunity are peculiar only to immigrants, or children of immigrants. There are the millions of jobless American youth who have come of age at a period when industry, business, and the professions are closed to newcomers; theirs is the plight of the trained but unwanted. Maxine Davis' *The Lost Generation* (Macmillan, \$2.50) describes this plight and should be compulsory reading for anyone who has ever turned down a youthful applicant for a job.

Americans pride themselves on their institutions. They pay taxes to support the schools. When a child is six his education is a matter of law. When he is fourteen he moves to a higher plane in the educational scheme. And when he is eighteen there are a number of schools which will be willing to educate him still further without tuition costs. But after paying for all this education and training and preparation, we have nothing more to do with youth. It is as if we build homes but make no provision for walls or ceiling. As a nation we have allowed our insurance policies to lapse.

### *Peace or War*

Congressmen who have done much viewing-with-alarm lately over the formation in schools and colleges of student organizations lampooning war and bonuses, such as the Veterans of Future Wars, or Future Gold Star Mothers, will find much enlightenment in Merle Curti's *Peace or War, The American Struggle* (W. W. Norton, \$3). Professor Curti records the history of the peace movement in this country from 1636 to 1936.

With graceful pedagogic restraint, Dr. Curti avoids the rôle of a prophet and confines himself to an objective study of peace movements since the Revolutionary War. His conclusion is that peace movements alone do not prevent war; indeed, history shows that sentiment and activity for peace were always strongest just before actual conflict. Economic factors are both reason and alibi for war.

The book is thoroughly scientific, unbiased, and free from second-guessing. It cannot help but add to Professor Curti's reputation as one of America's foremost historians.

### *Campaign Biographies*

The campaign biography is rapidly becoming as standardized an item of political promotion as the backslap or even the inevitable visit from the district leader. Now that the three most prominently mentioned Republican candidates have been the innocent (or otherwise) subjects of books, it begins to appear as though the biography is as much a nomination requirement as citizenship and age.

Within the short space of a month, there have appeared *Frank Knox, American*, by Norman Beasley (Doubleday Doran, \$1); *This Man Landon*, by Frederick Palmer (Dodd, Mead, & Co., \$1.50), and *Borah of Idaho*, by Claudius O. Johnson (Longmans, Green & Co., \$3). The books in-

crease in size and importance in the order named.

Mr. Johnson's work, fortunately, can not justly be classified as campaign literature. Published in any but an election year its significance would have doubtlessly been enhanced. For the book is not only a study of a life worth telling; it is the story of a moving America as pictured through the career of a man whose importance as a political figure has been exceeded only by presidents.

### *Political Destiny?*

Like Clay and Webster and Blaine, Borah's influence over a long period of years has helped shape American history and politics yet he never was the nominal leader of the nation. Certainly, American foreign policy, at least until 1932, has been based largely on the political philosophy of the Senator from Idaho. He led the fight against the League of Nations and Wilson and won. Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover consulted with him on questions involving United States foreign policy.

Borah made no pretense of consistency. He opposed the Woman Suffrage Amendment yet advocated Prohibition. He fought the soldier's bonus for many years but suddenly changed and supported payment in the bonus fights of 1935 and 1936. A staunch isolationist, he opposed intervention in foreign affairs yet introduced a resolution as recent as last year calling for an investigation of religious persecution in Mexico.

Senator Borah has been guided more by his sense of moral righteousness than by consistency or the doctrines of any political party. In this may rest the solution to the enigma of his true political label.

### *Alger Formula*

*Frank Knox, American*, reads like a pattern for Horatio Alger. Here is the rags-to-fame-and-riches story, of a newsboy and cub reporter who applied the formula of courage, ambition, initiative, etc., and scaled the heights of his field to become general manager of the far-flung Hearst newspaper chain at a salary of "more than \$150,000 a year." Today, he is a publisher in his own right.

*This Man Landon* is more of a political than a personal account of the Kansas budget balancer. Mr. Palmer went to Kansas, made a thorough study of the Landon record on matters not only of budget, but of relief, education, backing, background, and even of experiences with Landon's brain trust. One gets a clear picture of a presidential candidate whose appeal to the people may be presented as a combination Coolidge and Theodore Roosevelt—a thrifty, hard-headed American but with a little more dynamite than Mr. Coolidge and a little less of the "big stick" of Teddy Roosevelt.

No discussion of the month's biographies would be complete without mention of *John Reed*.

*The Making of a Revolutionary*, by Granville Hicks with the assistance of John Stuart (Macmillan, \$3.50); and *Theodore Parker, Yankee Crusader*, by Henry Steele Commager (Little, Brown, \$3).

John Reed, poet, playwright, war-correspondent, editor and—most important—a man and thinker, lived one of those rare and important lives that biographers dream about but are seldom able to find. Yet in the sixteen years since his death there has been no full-length biography of the boy (he died at thirty-three). It seems somewhat appropriate that the publishers should be the same organization that accepted Jack Reed's "greatest story" but were forestalled in the publication of the book because the State Department confiscated Reed's notes and papers. It must have been almost twenty years ago that Jack wrote to Lincoln Steffens, as revealed in the latter's autobiography, concerning his plight in not being able to rescue the papers so that he could fulfill his contract with the publishers.

It is fitting that Mr. Hicks' biography should be dedicated to Steffens; Reed's life was in many ways like that of the famous "Steff." Jack Reed lived as he thought—the vigor and color of his experiences were equalled only by the vigor and color of his mind. Like Steffens, Jack Reed belonged to that almost legendary group of American thinkers and doers that included Mabel Dodge, Bill Haywood, Louise Bryant, and Albert Rhys Williams. Theirs was an intellectual common denominator of radical thought and action, and Jack Reed found that with them he could grow.

The ordinary facts in the life of John Reed are well known. Economically independent, he nevertheless was able to appreciate and even dedicate his life to a new system of social justice and economic security. He died in the Soviet while working for the cause of communism, and was loved by the Russian people even more, perhaps, than by his own countrymen. He was buried "in the most honored spot in Russia, beside all the great heroes in the Kremlin."

#### *Parker's Influence*

Mr. Commager's biography of Theodore Parker is a well-told story of the America of a hundred years ago; of a challenge to American institutions, and of the development of New England as an intellectual autocracy which was to dominate the country for generations.

Theodore Parker wrote and talked and influenced thousands, not only in stolid, puritanical New England, but throughout the country and even Europe. Emerson called him one of the greatest men of his time. As an interpreter of democracy, Parker has had few peers. In fact, one suspects that his phrase, "The government of all, by all and for all, is a democracy" was appropriated and changed somewhat by Lincoln for his immortal ending to the Gettysburg Address.

#### *Mr. Bates on Congress*

*The Story of Congress: 1789-1935*, by Ernest Sutherland Bates (Harpers & Bros., \$3).

An interesting, popularly written account of Congress from the time of Washington to the first years of the present Administration. The author has divided his work into nine main chapters, each one covering a distinct political era in the history of the American Government.

#### *The Month in Fiction*

Among the noteworthy works of fiction during the month are *The Green Lion* by Francis Hackett (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50); *Darkness and the Dawn*, by Alexis Tolstoi (Longmans, Green & Co., \$2.50), and *The Undaunted*, by Alan Hart (W. W. Norton, \$2.50).

Mr. Hackett's large following, one feels safe in predicting, will be very pleased with his latest effort, his first novel since *Henry the Eighth* and *Francis the First*. *Darkness and the Dawn*, translated from the Russian by Edith Bone and Emile Burns, is a significant novel of the middle class destiny and philosophy during the Russian revolution. Mr. Hart's book, a novel of modern medicine, depicts the human side of the profession. It is the story of research workers—men of medicine in search of the truth in their fight against disease, and their great courage in the face of disappointment.

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# THE WORLD

## IN BOOKS

INDUSTRY again has been invited by the President to unbend and open up its payroll to labor of the relief variety. But even though it has been promised a seat in the front of the class, industry is unwilling or unable, or both, to absorb workers as fast as they are whittled out of their relief jobs. In fact, more than a few capitalist chieftains are ready to argue that their plants are already overmanned.

It would seem, therefore, from *Who Owns America* (Houghton Mifflin, \$3), that Mr. Roosevelt is inviting the wrong people to his intended recovery party. The book, a symposium edited by Herbert Agar and Allen Tate, makes the point that monopoly capitalism cannot be expected to offer any worthwhile remedies for the nation's assorted economic ills. When the relief rolls are cut, there will be no corresponding increase of employment in regular industry. And when monopoly capitalism produces another Frankenstein, as in 1929, the system may be smashed beyond repair.

The simple thing to do, according to Mr. Agar, would be to give the country back to the people. Americans have allowed the "disease" of monopoly capitalism to replace democracy with plutocracy.

"Modern America is the antithesis of our ideal," Mr. Agar declares, and adds: "Unless the people who cherish the American dream have the generosity to work together now, they may soon be working side by side in the concentration camps."

The "American dream," at least in the opinion of Mr. Agar and twenty other authors who contribute to the symposium, would see a nation of small, independent, and democratic landowners. A majority of the families in the country would participate in real ownership under the plan, which the authors call a "new Declaration of Independence."

There would be no determined effort at plucking handfuls of folk from the cities and setting them down on the soil. The main idea is to make "free men" of the present farmers, tenants, and sharecroppers.

The program would take thirty years to put

into effect, Mr. Agar concedes, and the strongest opposition will be that of Big Business, but Mr. Agar feels that the industrial front has been highly overrated as a deterring factor to social progress. When the movement gains enough strength, monopoly capitalism will either lay back its ears and make for the nearest exit, or defer meekly with the hope of fitting in somewhere under the new order of things.

### *Consumer Cooperatives*

It is interesting to note that the symposium favors consumer cooperatives as an institution under the agrarian scheme. The movement has been somewhat sluggish in getting under way in this country, but has been budding during the last few years. Two million Americans have had the vision and independence to enroll in what is described as a "peaceful revolution" by Bertram B. Fowler in *Consumer Cooperation in America* (Vanguard, \$3). Appropriately enough, the book has an introduction by Marquis W. Childs, whose *Sweden: The Middle Way*, described the most successful consumer cooperative movement in the world.

Mr. Fowler believes in consumer cooperation as an economic and social philosophy. It is democracy's way out, he contends, and not the least of its advantages is that it is "as American as the Constitution."

What should Americans really pay, say, for a loaf of bread? Should they be obliged to stand the costs of brilliant and fancy-salaried advertising copywriters? of a series of radio broadcasts on mystery stories, even granted that the programs are good? of some very attractive but expensive billboard displays, and of a whole mess of middlemen cramped somewhere between the farmer and the retailer? Perhaps, as Marie Antoinette once suggested, we had better eat cake.

But a large number of Americans have found that consumer cooperation offers a solution to the problem of high prices and questionable quality.

# A League of Nations QUESTIONNAIRE

**F**EATURED in the May issue of *The Living Age* will be the first section of a symposium on the League of Nations, which will continue in consecutive issues.

This symposium will present, in summary and in detail, the results of a questionnaire recently submitted by *The Living Age* to several score members of its Advisory Council—outstanding individuals in the professions, government, and business. Not only do these replies reflect the present state of the American mind with regard to the League; the varied approaches to the subject are almost equally interesting.

Though the position of *The Living Age* with respect to international cooperation is well known, the results of its League of Nations questionnaire will be printed completely without bias or partisan comment.

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More than that, thousands have found that the movement has given them economic rehabilitation and security. The case of Negroes in Gary, Indiana, is perhaps one of the best illustrations. Of a Negro population of 20,000, one half were on relief. Normally in a state of economic bondage, the Negro in Gary found his plight even more acute. Factories and banks were closed and where work was formerly only improbable, it was now impossible as well. But of such stuff is life made that flesh needs fuel, regardless of color, and man will contrive to prolong his existence. For the Gary Negro, economic emancipation came with consumer cooperation. It started first as a collective buying and bargaining enterprise. After a while, a group managed to pool its savings and opened a small store. That store now stands as a landmark in the nation's consumer cooperation movement, doing a total yearly business of \$35,000.

Mr. Fowler has supplied a helpful handbook on the consumer cooperative movement. But like most social pioneers he has allowed his enthusiasm to rush him along paths of prediction where he could do better to slow down to a walk. One might acknowledge the desirability and even necessity of consumer cooperation, but one hesitates to pronounce it the certain cure-all for all the sore thumbs of society. It would seem a little unfair for consumer cooperation to expect that the movement will resolve all the problems of war, international complications, mass production, business cycles, and even government. As Dr. Harry W. Laidler points out in his *A Program for Modern America* (Crowell, \$2.50), the cooperative movement is seldom helped by claiming too much for it; in fact, its growth has been retarded by regarding it as a panacea for all ills. Dr. Laidler suggests that the cooperative undertaking serve as a supplementary, or as an integral part of a "larger movement for human emancipation."

### Contemporary Problems

Dr. Laidler, a keen student of government and politics, has written a book which proves even more valuable than his *Concentration of Control in American Industry*. He does more than state his own beliefs. He carefully and honestly examines the outstanding issues of the day, and analyzes, in the light of pragmatic history, the wide range of proposals advanced to meet these problems. Speaking for himself, Dr. Laidler would forbid child labor, in the main, to all under eighteen; establish national unemployment and health insurance; introduce a cooperative system to take care of old age pensions (as opposed to the "chimerical" Townsend Plan); install a six-hour day and a five-day week; broaden public works; improve national housing; put into effect a "common sense agricultural program"; establish social ownership and control of the country's vital resources; rearrange the system of taxation; launch a program of nationalized, cooperative, and mutualized banking

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### *Steady Finland*

In his chapter on the consumer cooperatives, Dr. Laidler credits the Finnish population in this country with taking the most active and intelligent interest, as a national group, in the movement. But the ability to take an intelligent and active interest in worthwhile undertakings is only one of many commendable Finnish characteristics. Agnes Rothery tells us in *Finland: The New Nation* (Viking Press, \$3), of a people who go about their personal and political problems with thoroughness and fundamental honesty.

The Finn likes a life uncluttered by the superficial ornaments and embellishments of twentieth century civilization. Give him a farm, a cottage near a lily pond, or a cabin with an evergreen forest view; give him books and time to read; make it possible for him to sell his produce and buy his necessities at a cooperative store, and give him time to be alone.

It is noteworthy that while other nations have turned their backs and tightened their purse-strings on the question of paying war debts to the United States, Finland regularly sends the interest due together with part of the principal. Miss Rothery attributes this to intellectual as well as basic honesty, for the Finns are thrifty, prudent, and know how to handle money. Already the nation has paid sixty percent of its foreign indebtedness and expects to have the entire amount paid off by 1940.

Miss Rothery is more than one of our great travel writers. In *Finland: The New Nation*, she has also established herself as a competent government observer. Perhaps the most eloquent tribute due the book is that it is worthy of a Marquis Childs or a Hendrik Willem Van Loon.

### *Groping Italy*

Just as it appears that Finland has found its social and economic stride, so does it seem that Italy is still fumbling around for a clear footing. Gaetano Salvemini, who was asked to leave his native Italy after refusing to endorse the fascist formula, reports in *Under the Axe of Fascism* (Viking Press, \$3); that the lot of the common man in the domain of Il Duce can show little improvement over the pre-fascist days.

Dr. Salvemini, now a special lecturer at Harvard and Yale, is perhaps the most qualified critic of fascism in this country. His knowledge of Italy and its Man on Horseback is more than that of average foreign news observers; he was a professor of history at the University of Florence for many years.

Dr. Salvemini has chosen the method of indicting fascism by its own words and acts. He wisely takes the position of quoting from fascist sources to show that Italy is a good deal less than most

of its supporters have claimed. Confining himself, in the main, to an objective study of the relations between capital and labor, Dr. Salvemini does some debunking of the propaganda which sought to show that labor has thrived under fascism. Wages have been cut and scraped, yet the worker has been asked to be thankful that the State is allowing him the opportunity of sacrificing for the benefit of his country. The cost of living, as one might expect, is far below that of the United States, yet Italian wages are so much lower proportionately that it takes an entire family working at maximum wages to live without severe hardship. As a result, the standard of living is very near, if not at, the nadir of existence. And the strike has been outlawed as a medium of protest. For in Italy, there can be no protests or strikes; the labor organizations are vest pocket company unions of the corporate State, and those who would cry out against intolerable working conditions and insufficient wages find few who are willing to run the risk of protest.

### *Reporter in Europe*

There is much about Dr. Salvemini's book to suggest it as companion reading to *Europe Under the Terror*, by John L. Spivak (Simon and Shuster, \$2.50); *Face of Revolution*, by Michael John (Macmillan, \$2.50), and *Millions of Dictators*, by Emil Lengyel (Funk & Wagnalls, \$2). All three books are based upon the authors' experiences in asking questions of people, politicians and diplomats.

John L. Spivak, about whom many drums have been beat as an ace reporter, scuttled through Italy, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Austria prying into the lives of people under fascism. In Italy, he found much in common with Dr. Salvemini; Italian laborers were squirming under the oppressive heel of capital, and the government spent most of its time patting the back of capital with one hand and making gun powder with the other. German labor was suffering, too, but Mr. Spivak was able to record other facts in his notebook on the Nazis. For one thing, Germany is in a stew of spies, check spies, and double-check spies. Mr. Spivak pictures a wire-tapping, dictaphone-planting Germany, with a system of political racketeering and cut-backs that would put Ross Tweed and Al Capone to shame. Poland isn't even doing a good job at fascism. She has difficulty in controlling labor, and strikes are strung throughout the land. And Austria and Czechoslovakia do not quite present the picture of nations which are about to burst into the full bloom of peace, prosperity, and content.

### *World Personalities*

The author of *Face of Revolution*, veiling his identity behind the name of Michael John, did not confine himself, as Mr. Spivak, to fascist-minded countries. "Mr. John" took in the United States,

Great Britain, and Russia, as well as Italy and Germany. And if there is anyone of importance that the author has passed by, the reader will be hard put to find who it is. In the United States the author engaged in thumb-nail interviews with a wide range of personalities including Mr. Roosevelt, Senator Borah, Secretary Wallace, and Sally Rand. Abroad, the author spoke to Lloyd George, Maxim Litvinov, and Goering, among others.

In spite of its somewhat fragmentary quality, *Face of Revolution* is significant reading. But while "Mr. John" has sought out rulers and leaders as vital forces in the making of history, Emil Lengyel takes the view in *Millions of Dictators* that the "average man" is more the ruler than the ruled. The thoughts and activities of "average men" really shape a country's destiny, the author holds.

One is apt to philosophize after reading the book, that the world is a bumpy deck on to which have been sprinkled moving, breathing, objects of various forms and sizes. But complications arise. There will be interchange and conflict of ideas; there will be an unlimited number of circumstances and combinations which will make life both interesting and intolerable. And always, as in the case of a card game, the deal and combination will be different. Out of these combinations will come economic and social philosophies, political doctrines, attitudes on peace and war. . . .

The combinations, Mr. Lengyel seems to believe, have made possible men like Hitler and Mussolini—puppets, manipulated by the "average man," Mr. Lengyel's hero.

But one finds it difficult to accept the thesis that personal magnetism, dynamic oratory, and genius in mass leadership play only secondary rôles in the making of dictators. Nor does it seem reasonable to admit that people do the dictating, and that the dictator seldom follows his own counsel. One reads, for example, in the biography, *Hitler*, by Konrad Heiden (Alfred A. Knopf, \$3), of a nation whose emotions, ideals, and even philosophy have been die-cut to fit a certain pattern shaped by its leader. For Hitler has fertilized in the minds of his people his own exaggerated notions of superiority, power, and prestige. He has stirred the blood of the German people with his own, and has imbued the people with a peculiar vanity to take the place of the wounds of Versailles.

Mr. Heiden has come even closer to revealing the real Hitler than *Mein Kampf*. As a penetrating analysis of the personality that is Der Führer, *Hitler* should be compulsory reading for psychologists as well as historians.



The literary horizon gleamed last month with the publication of the fourth edition of H. L. Mencken's *The American Language* (Alfred A. Knopf, \$5). Mr. Mencken, who has streamlined the Amer-

(Continued on page 126)

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## A TRAVELER'S NOTEBOOK

VISITORS to Paris on July 14 will be able to witness the storming of a dummy Bastille in the Place de la Bastille. The miniature will be built from prints that have been carefully preserved in the Carnavalet Museum and elsewhere.

\* \* \*

The Cathedral of San Domingo, in whose crypt the ashes of Christopher Columbus remained for a long time, was the first to be built in America. Its cornerstone was laid in 1505 or 1506.

\* \* \*

Among the newer wrinkles in touring are the English "luxury train cruises" and "railway camp-coaches." The de luxe cruising trains offer many of the comforts of a first-class hotel, with showers, hair-dressing salons, writing rooms and so on, and cover about 2,000 miles a week. The camp-coaches are obsolete railway cars that have been fitted out like small apartments, with dining room, kitchen, closets and sleeping quarters. Their popularity among middle-class families who desire to spend a holiday in the mountains, in one of the lake districts or near the sea is said to be growing rapidly.

\* \* \*

English has replaced German as the most popular foreign language in Russia.

\* \* \*

The Oberammergau Passion Play will be held in 1940 according to an announcement by the Mayor of the little village.

\* \* \*

During the festival of Tazounhmon, celebrated in Upper Burma, there is a friendly spirited "thieving night," when native youngsters behave much as do our own on Halloween. Everything movable about the streets, including the municipal dustbins, are "stolen." It is reported, however, that everything is found—eventually.

\* \* \*

Great Britain's new streamlined train Silver Jubilee has attained a speed of 112 miles an hour in trials and is expected to make a regular run between London and Newcastle in four hours—an average speed of 67 miles an hour.

\* \* \*

The hypostyle hall at Karnak, Egypt, is being carefully restored.

\* \* \*

Instruction in skiing has become quite an industry in Switzerland. During the past two years fifty-two ski schools have been established and are said to be flourishing.

\* \* \*

Acute controversy is expected to be aroused among the Christian communities in Jerusa-

lem over the proposal of William Harvey, eminent London architect, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre be practically rebuilt. The church, which encloses Mount Calvary and the Tomb of Christ, has been steadily disintegrating since the earthquake of 1927, but the question of repairs is a delicate one because of the sensitiveness and jealousies of the sects that regard themselves as its guardians.

\* \* \*

The Holle Gasse, or Hollow Road, between Kussnacht on Lake Lucerne and Immensee on Lake Zug, where, according to legend, William Tell slew the tyrant Gessler, is to be preserved as a Swiss national shrine. The giant trees that cover the road have suffered from motor traffic in recent years and a fund to provide a detour has been raised by Swiss school children.

\* \* \*

Buenos Aires celebrated the 400th anniversary of its founding on Feb. 2. It is now the largest Spanish-speaking city in the world and the largest city in the Southern Hemisphere.

\* \* \*

The Moore Memorial Church in Shanghai, to which General Chiang Kai-shek belongs, has established the Chinese Christian School for Bootblacks to help the unemployment situation in Shanghai. At the first graduation exercises, held recently, the hymn "Work, for the Night Is Coming" was sung, and each graduate was given a stool, a foot rest, a can of shoe polish, brushes and strips of cloth. The first Chinese bootblack was General Niang Ming-sang, who polished shoes in Shanghai for his living after the Japanese drove him out of Manchuria.

\* \* \*

Japan has the best balanced dietary in the world, according to one British medical authority, though other dietitians have their own ideas.

\* \* \*

A "Cavalcade of Texas," in an outdoor setting, will dramatize the history of Texas under six flags at the Centennial Exposition at Dallas this Summer.

\* \* \*

An exhibition commemorating the achievements of famous Austrians is on view in Vienna's Kuenstlerhaus. Among those whose work is recognized are Freud, the psychoanalyst; Ressel, inventor of the ship propeller; Negrelli, who drew the first plans for the Suez Canal, and Welsbach, inventor of the incandescent gas lamp.

\* \* \*

Cuba permits tourists to bring in their automobiles duty free for 180 days.

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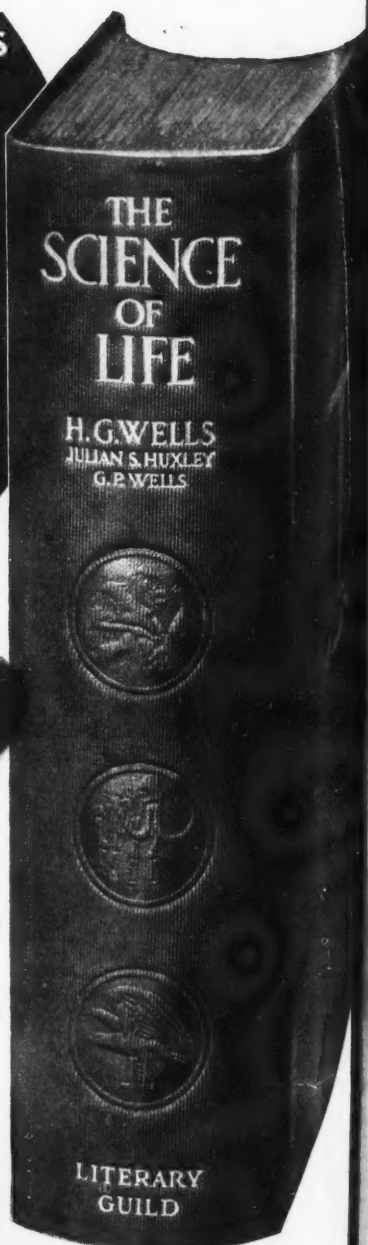
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